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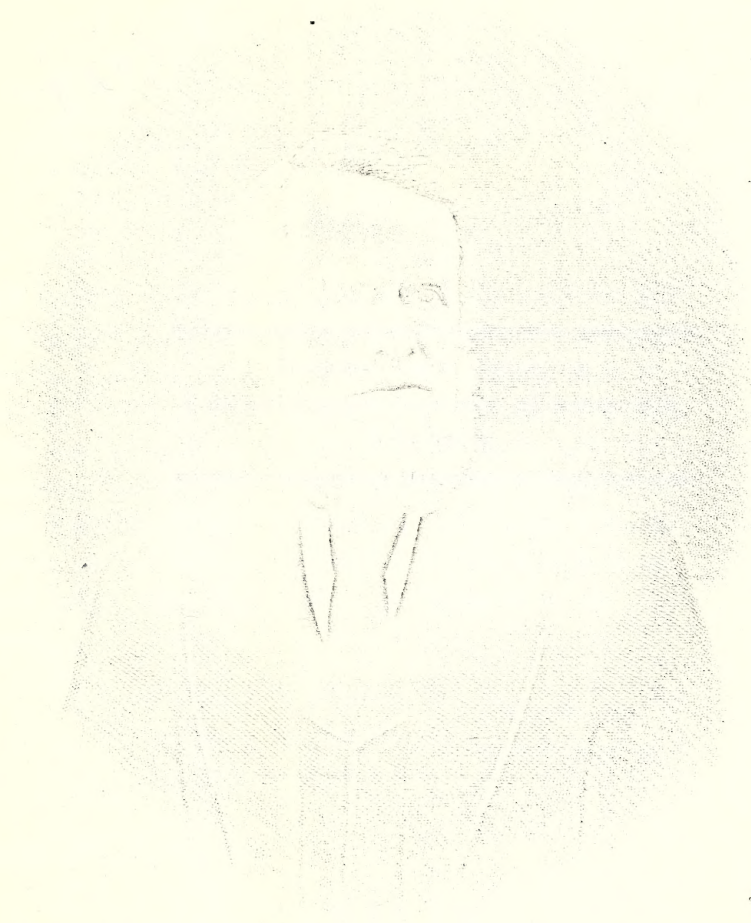


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PAPERS & PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONNECTICUT VALLEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Henry M. ...



Henry Morris



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Prefatory Note

THIS volume contains an abstract of the proceedings of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, beginning with its meeting June 5, 1882, and ending with its quarterly meeting October 21, 1903. It also contains all the papers read at the meetings of the Society that have been furnished by their author for publication. Other valuable papers have been read from time to time, as will be seen by reference to the proceedings, which have not come into the possession of the Society.

WILLIAM F. ADAMS	} <i>Committee of Publication.</i>
Judge A. M. COPELAND	
ALBERT H. KIRKHAM	

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., 1904.

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Officers of the
Connecticut Valley Historical Society

WITH LENGTH OF TIME OF SERVICE

Presidents

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1876-1888

REV. DR. SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM

1889-1893

JUDGE WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF

1894-1895

JUDGE ALFRED M. COPELAND

1896-1901

WILLIAM F. ADAMS

1902-

Vice-Presidents

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WILLIAM L. SMITH	1876
SAMUEL BOWLES	1876
S. O. LAMB, Greenfield	1877-1892
SAMUEL T. SPAULDING, Northampton	1877
REV. L. CLARK SEELYE, Northampton	1878-1892
HON. GEORGE D. ROBINSON, Chicopee	1889-1892
HON. EDWARD B. GILLET, Westfield	1889-1892
JUDGE W. B. C. PEARSONS, Holyoke	1889-1892
REV. GEORGE M. STEELE, Wilbraham	1889-1892
HON. CHARLES L. GARDNER, Palmer	1889-1892
REV. JOHN W. HARDING, Longmeadow	1889-1892
WILLIAM N. FLYNT, Monson	1889-1892
ROBERT O. DWIGHT, South Hadley	1889-1892
HENRY F. BROWN, Brimfield	1889-1891

LIST OF OFFICERS

Vice-Presidents—Continued

H. S. SHELDON, Suffield	1889-1892
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JUDGE WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF	1890-1891
EPHRAIM W. BOND	1890-1891
HENRY C. BLISS, West Springfield	1892
REV. DR. SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM	1894-1896
CLARK W. BRYAN	1894-1896
JUDGE ALFRED M. COPELAND	1894-1895
JOHN L. RICE	1896-1901
SAMUEL BOWLES	1901
EDWARD P. CHAPIN	1901
GEORGE D. PRATT	1902
JOHN WEST	1902-
WALTER G. MORSE	1902
DR. ANDREW J. FLANAGAN	1903-
J. STUART KIRKHAM	1903-

Clerks

REV. DR. WILLIAM RICE	1876-1888
EDWARD MORRIS	1889-1892
ALFRED M. COPELAND	1893
WILLIAM F. ADAMS	1894-1900
WILLIAM C. STONE	1901-1902
HENRY A. BOOTH	1903-

Corresponding Secretaries

ALBERT H. KIRKHAM	1889-1901
HENRY A. BOOTH	1902-

Treasurers

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CHARLES MARSH	1889-1890
ALBERT H. KIRKHAM	1891
J. STUART KIRKHAM	1892-1894
HARRY A. WRIGHT	1895-1900
WILLIAM C. STONE	1901-

Curators

WILLIAM C. STONE	1903-
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HOMER MERRIAM	1876
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JOSEPH C. PYNCHON	1876
HENRY S. LEE	1876-1891
CHARLES MARSH	1876
WILLIAM L. SMITH	1877-1887
SAMUEL BOWLES	1877
REV. JOHN W. HARDING	1877-1888
EPHRAIM W. BOND	1877-1888
JUDGE WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF	1878-1888
JAMES KIRKHAM	1889-1891
CLARK W. BRYAN	1889-1891
ALFRED M. COPELAND	1889-1891 and 1903
EDWARD S. BRADFORD	1889-1891
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ALBERT T. FOLSOM	1892
WILLIAM V. L. OWENS	1892
HENRY M. PHILLIPS	1892
REV. DR. WILLIAM RICE	1895-1897
MILTON BRADLEY	1895-1900
JAMES A. RUMRILL	1895-1900
JONATHAN BARNES	1895-1900
RALPH W. ELLIS	1895-1900
FREDERICK H. STEEBINS	1895-1901
WILLIAM F. ADAMS	1901
HARRY A. WRIGHT	1901
FRANK G. TOBEY	1901-
MRS. CHARLOTTE E. WARNER	1901-
MISS MARY A. BOOTH	1901-1902
ALBERT H. KIRKHAM	1902-
EDWARD A. HALL	1902-
DR. ANDREW J. FLANAGAN	1902-1903
ALFRED M. COPELAND	1903-
LEWIS F. CARR	1903-
REV. THOMAS D. HOWARD	1903-

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ADAMS, WILLIAM F.	BELDING, ELIJAH
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ALDEN, MRS. ELBERT A.	BELLAMY, MRS. CHARLES J.
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ALLEN, IRA B.	BEMIS, MRS. S. AUGUSTUS
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AMES, MISS MARY H.	BILL, MRS. NATHAN D.
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APPLETON, MRS. JULIUS H.	BIRNIE, WILLIAM
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ATWATER, MRS. DAVID F.	BLAKE, ELIJAH
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	BLAKE, MRS. HENRY W.
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BAILEY, MRS. PETER S.	BOOTH, CHARLES EDWIN, New York
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BAKER, WILLIAM K.	BOSWORTH, HENRY W.
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BARROWS, CHARLES H.	BOWMAN, HENRY H.
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 COOPER, JOSEPH H.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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DEXTER, MRS. JENNESS K.
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DICKINSON, HENRY S.
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FULLER, HENRY, Westfield

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GORDON, MRS. SOLOMON J.
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GREENLEAF, MRS. ORRICK H.
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GUNN, MRS. ELISHA

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 HARRIS, FREDERICK H.
 HARRIS, MRS. FREDERICK H.
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 HOWARD, MRS. GEORGE E.
 HOWARD, REV. THOMAS D.
 HUBBARD, ELI A.
 HUBBARD, GEORGE W.
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 HURLEUT, MRS. JULIUS S.
 HUNTING, HENRY R.
 HYDE, HENRY S.
 HYDE, MRS. HENRY S.
 HYDE, WILLIAM, Ware
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 JACOBS, MISS RACHEL B.
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 JOHNSON, MRS. JAMES L.
 JOHNSON, R. B., Holyoke
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 KINGSEBURY, MRS. GEORGE O.
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 KIRKHAM, JAMES
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 KNOWLTON, MRS. MARCUS P.
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 LADD, LUCIUS E.
 LAMB, SAMUEL O., Greenfield
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 LAZELLE, MRS. EDWARD J.
 LEE, CHARLES M.
 LEE, MRS. CHARLES M.
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 LENOIR, WILLIAM C.
 LENOIR, MRS. WILLIAM C.
 LEONARD, GEORGE

LIST OF MEMBERS

XIX

LEONARD, MRS. GEORGE
 LEONARD, NORMAN T.
 LEWIS, GEORGE S.
 LEWIS, MRS. GEORGE S.
 LEWIS, HENRY B., Westfield
 LEWIS, JAMES H.
 LEWIS, MRS. JAMES H.
 LINCOLN, WILLIAM A.
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 LOMBARD, MRS. HOSEA C.
 LOMBARD, MISS MARGARET H.
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 LONG, MRS. CHARLES L.
 LOOMIS, JAMES H., Chicopee Falls
 LOOMIS, WILLIAM S., Holyoke
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 LUTHER, MRS. EBEN
 LYFORD, EDWIN F.
 LYMAN, CHARLES P.

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 MARSH, CHARLES S.
 MARSH, DANIEL J.
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 MARSH, COL. JOHN F.
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 MCCLEAN, MRS. ALEX. S.
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 MCCLENN, MRS. WILLIAM W., Chicopee
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 MCELWAIN, MRS. EDWIN
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 MCINTIRE, MRS. JAMES E.
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 MCINTOSH, MRS. ANDREW J.
 MCINTOSH, JOHN C.
 MCINTOSH, JOHN G.
 MCINTOSH, MRS. JOHN G.

McKNIGHT, CHARLES H.
 McKNIGHT, JOHN D.
 McKNIGHT, MRS. JOHN D.
 McKNIGHT, WILLIAM H.
 McKNIGHT, MRS. WILLIAM H.
 MEDLICOTT, WILLIAM G., Longmeadow
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 MEEKINS, MRS. EMORY
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 MERRIAM, HOMER
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 MILLS, MISS LIZZIE H.
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 MOORE, MISS SARAH A.
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 MORRIS, MISS MARIA M.
 MORRIS, ROBERT O.
 MORRIS, MRS. ROBERT O.
 MORSE, WALTER G.
 MOSELEY, EDWARD, Westfield
 MOXOM, REV. DR. PHILIP S.
 MUNSELL, JOEL, Albany
 MURPHY, JOHN A.
 MURPHY, MRS. JOHN A.
 MURRAY, PETER
 MUTELL, CHARLES W.
 MUTELL, MRS. CHARLES W.

 NEWELL, CURTIS B.
 NEWELL, ELIJAH A.
 NEWELL, MRS. ELIJAH A.
 NEWELL, JOSEPH K.
 NEWELL, NELSON C.
 NEWELL, MRS. NELSON C.
 NEWELL, ROSCIUS C.
 NEWELL, WILLIAM C.
 NEWELL, MRS. WILLIAM C.
 NEWMAN, FREDERICK S.
 NEWMAN, MRS. FREDERICK S.
 NEWTON, GEORGE H., Monson
 NICHOLS, CHARLES A.

LIST OF MEMBERS

NICHOLS, MRS. CHARLES A.
 NORTON, EPHRAIM G.
 NORTON, MRS. EPHRAIM G.
 NORTON, FRANCIS
 NORTON, MRS. FRANCIS

OLMSTED, JOHN
 OLMSTED, MRS. JOHN
 ORP, LOUIS H.
 ORR, MRS. LOUIS H.
 ORR, WILLIAM, JR.

PACKARD, AZEL A.
 PACKARD, MRS. AZEL A.
 PALMER, MRS. CLARA S., Chicopee
 PARSONS, CHARLES H.
 PARSONS, MRS. CHARLES H.
 PARSONS, WILLIAM E.
 PARSONS, WILLIAM H.
 PARSONS, MRS. WILLIAM H.
 PATTON, WILLIAM
 PEARSON, W. B. C., Holyoke
 PERKINS, EPHRAIM A.
 PERKINS, VIRGIL
 PHELPS, EDWARD H.
 PHELPS, MRS. EDWARD H.
 PHILLIPS, HENRY M.
 PHILLIPS, MRS. HENRY M.
 PIERCE, MISS M. L.
 POMEROY, DR. STEPHEN F.
 POMEROY, MRS. STEPHEN F.
 POMEROY, DR. WILLIAM H.
 PORTER, MISS CHARLOTTE W.
 PORTER, WILLIAM P.
 PORTER, MRS. WILLIAM P.
 POWERS, LEWIS J.
 POWERS, MRS. LEWIS J.
 PRATT, GEORGE D.
 PRATT, MRS. GEORGE D.
 PRENTICE, GEORGE W., Holyoke
 PUFFER, HERBERT C.
 PUFFER, MRS. HERBERT C.
 PYNCHON, EDWARD
 PYNCHON, JAMES H.
 PYNCHON, MRS. JAMES H.
 PYNCHON, JOSEPH C.
 PYNCHON, REV. DR. THOMAS R.,
 Hartford, Connecticut
 PYNCHON, WILLIAM

RAY, SAMUEL C.
 REED, REV. EDWARD A.
 REED, REV. DAVID A.
 REED, MRS. DAVID A.

RICE, JOHN L.
 RICE, HARRY E.
 RICE, RICHARD W.
 RICE, MRS. RICHARD W.
 RICE, REV. DR. WILLIAM
 ROBINSON, GEORGE D., Chicopee
 ROBINSON, MRS. GEORGE D., Chicopee
 ROGERS, EDWARD C.
 ROWLEY, H. CURTIS
 ROWLEY, MRS. H. CURTIS
 RUDE, HORACE
 RUMRILL, JAMES A.
 RUSSELL, JAMES E.
 RUSSELL, MRS. JAMES E.

SANDERS, SIDNEY
 SANDERSON, EDWARD
 SANDERSON, HIRAM Q.
 SEEGER, EDWIN W.
 SEEGER, MRS. EDWIN W.
 SEELYE, REV. JULIUS H., Amherst
 SEELYE, REV. L. CLARK, Northampton
 SELDEN, REV. EDWARD G.
 SELDEN, MRS. EDWARD G.
 SEYMOUR, ROBERT H., Holyoke
 SEYMOUR, STEPHEN E.
 SHELDON, GEORGE, Deerfield
 SHELDON, H. S.
 SHERWOOD, SAMUEL A.
 SHIPLEY, JOSEPH L.
 SHIPLEY, MRS. JOSEPH L.
 SHURTLEFF, MISS CLARA M.
 SHURTLEFF, MISS MARY D.
 SHURTLEFF, ROSWELL G.
 SHURTLEFF, MRS. ROSWELL G.
 SHURTLEFF, WILLIAM S.
 SHURTLEFF, MRS. WILLIAM S.
 SIMONS, WILLIAM C.
 SIMONS, MRS. WILLIAM C.
 SMITH, ALBERT E.
 SMITH, MRS. ALBERT E.
 SMITH, AVERY J.
 SMITH, MRS. AVERY J.
 SMITH, DEXTER
 SMITH, ENOS
 SMITH, MRS. ENOS
 SMITH, MISS EVA S.
 SMITH, GEORGE B.
 SMITH, GEORGE W. V.
 SMITH, HEMAN
 SMITH, HORACE
 SMITH, JAMES B.
 SMITH, JOHN M.
 SMITH, MRS. JOHN M.

LIST OF MEMBERS

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SMITH, JOHN R.
 SMITH, OLIN H.
 SMITH, WILLIAM L.
 SOULE, MISS ANNA M., South Hadley
 SOULE, AUGUSTUS L.
 SOUTHMAYD, FREDERICK G.
 SOUTHMAYD, MRS. FREDERICK G.
 SOUTHWORTH, CHARLES H.
 SOUTHWORTH, MRS. CHARLES H.
 SOUTHWORTH, GEORGE C. S.
 SOUTHWORTH, HENRY W.
 SOUTHWORTH, MASE S.
 SOUTHWORTH, MRS. MASE S.
 SPAULDING, SAMUEL T., Northampton
 SPELLMAN, CHARLES C.
 SPELLMAN, MRS. CHARLES C.
 SPOONER, SAMUEL B.
 STEARNS, GEORGE M., Chicopee
 STEARNS, GEORGE M. (Banker)
 STEARNS, MRS. GEORGE M.
 STEBBINS, FREDERICK H.
 STEBBINS, DR. GEORGE S.
 STEBBINS, MRS. GEORGE S.
 STEBBINS, JOHN B.
 STEBBINS, JOHN M.
 STEBBINS, WILLIAM
 STOCKWELL, DR. CHESTER T.
 STONE, ADMIRAL P.
 STONE, HARLAN P.
 STONE, MRS. HARLAN P.
 STONE, WILLMORE B.
 STONE, WILLIAM C.
 STONE, MRS. WILLMORE B.
 STORRS, RICHARD S., Longmeadow
 STOWE, LUKE S.
 STOWE, MRS. LUKE S.
 STRONG, HOMER L.
 SULLIVAN, JAMES E.

 TAFT, HENRY W., Pittsfield
 TAFT, STEPHEN S., Palmer
 TANNATT, ABRAHAM G.
 TANNATT, MISS HARRIET
 TANNATT, JOSHUA F.
 TAPLEY, GEORGE W.
 TAPLEY, MRS. GEORGE W.
 TAYLOR, DAVID E.
 TAYLOR, MRS. DAVID E.
 TAYLOR, GEORGE S., Chicopee Falls
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 TAYLOR, VARNUM N.
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 THOMPSON, JAMES M.

THRASHER, MISS EMMA E.
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 TIFFT, MRS. ELIPHALET T.
 TOBEY, FRANK G.
 TOBEY, MRS. FRANK G.
 TOWNE, EDWIN E., Monson
 TOWNE, MRS. EDWIN E., Monson
 TRASK, REV. DR. JOHN L. R.
 TUFTS, REV. JAMES, Monson
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 TYLER, WILLIAM S., Amherst

 UNDERWOOD, PORTER, Holyoke

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 VAN VLACK, CHARLES
 VAN VLACK, MRS. CHARLES

 WALKER, FRANK C.
 WALKER, FREDERICK D.
 WALLACE, ANDREW B.
 WALLACE, MRS. ANDREW B.
 WARNER, MRS. CHARLOTTE E.
 WARREN, THOMAS B.
 WARREN, W. L.
 WARRINER, SOLOMON C.
 WARRINER, MRS. SOLOMON C.
 WASHBURN, KIRK N.
 WASHBURN, MRS. KIRK N.
 WATSON, MRS. ADDISON H.
 WEBSTER, DANIEL E.
 WEBSTER, MRS. DANIEL E.
 WEBSTER, MRS. E. A.
 WELLS, DAVID A., Norwich, Conn.
 WELLS, GIDEON
 WELLS, MRS. GIDEON
 WELLS, JAMES R.
 WESSON, DANIEL B.
 WESSON, MRS. DANIEL B.
 WESSON, WALTER H.
 WESSON, MRS. WALTER H.
 WEST, ARTHUR B., Chicopee Falls
 WEST, MRS. ARTHUR B., Chicopee Falls
 WEST, JOHN
 WEST, MRS. JOHN
 WEST, JOHN M.
 WHITCOMB, ABRAM
 WHITCOMB, MRS. ABRAM
 WHITCOMB, FRANK D.
 WHITCOMB, HENRY L.
 WHITCOMB, LOUISE B.
 WHITCOMB, MRS. SUSAN A.
 WHITCOMB, MISS SUSIE
 WHITE, MISS HARRIET

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WHITE, LUTHER, Chicopee	WILLIAMS, MYRON R.
WHITE, MRS. LUTHER, Chicopee	WILLARD, WILLIAM M.
WHITE, ROBERT DAY	WILLIAMS, WILLIAM M.
WHITING, CHARLES G.	WILLIAMS, MRS. WILLIAM M.
WHITNEY, JAMES L., Boston	WINTER, NEWRIE D.
WHITNEY, MILTON B., Westfield	WOOD, JOHN M.
WHITON, JAMES M., Easthampton	WRIGHT, ANDREW J.
WIGHT, HENRY K., Indian Orchard	WRIGHT, GEORGE L.
WIGHT, MRS. HENRY K., Indian Orch.	WRIGHT, HARRY A.
WILCOX, JOHN P.	WRIGHT, HORACE P.
WILCOX, MRS. JOHN P.	WRIGHT, WILLIAM H.
WILCOX, WILLIAM L.	WRIGHT, MRS. WILLIAM H.
WILCOX, MRS. WILLIAM L.	
WILEY, DR. JOSIAH K.	YOUNG, FRANK R.

LIFE MEMBERS

APPLETON, JULIUS H.	POMEROY, DR. WILLIAM H.
BILL, NATHAN D.	PYNCHON, EDWARD
BROOKS, WILLIAM H., Holyoke	RICE, WILLIAM NORTH,
DICKINSON, HENRY S.	Middletown, Connecticut
GUNN, ELISHA	RUMRILL, JAMES A.
HAILE, HENRY C.	SOUTHWORTH, CHARLES H.
KIRKHAM, ALBERT H.	STEBBINS, FREDERICK H.
KIRKHAM, JAMES W.	WESSON, WALTER H.
MAYNARD, JUDGE ELISHA B.	WEST, JOHN
OLMSTED, JOHN	

By - L a w s

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the CONNECTICUT VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 2. The objects of the Society shall be to procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, military, literary, ecclesiastical and genealogical history of the country, and especially of the territory included in the Connecticut Valley, and also, to prepare and preserve correct reports and annals of passing events of importance.

ARTICLE 3. Any person may become a member of the Society by placing with the Treasurer an application for membership in writing, accompanied with the admission fee and approved at any meeting by a vote of the majority of the members present. Each member shall pay an initiation fee of one dollar, and shall pay annually afterwards a fee of one dollar. Any person neglecting to pay his annual dues for six months shall forfeit his membership. Any person paying at one time the sum of fifty dollars, shall become a Life member of the Society, and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

ARTICLE 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, Clerk, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Curator, and an Executive Committee of six. The Society may also elect at its option Assistant Corresponding Secretaries in the various towns represented in the membership. These officers shall be elected by ballot annually at the annual meeting, and shall hold their offices until others are chosen and qualified in their stead. Vacancies in any of the offices may be filled by the Directors. The President, Vice-Presidents, Clerk, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Curator, and the Executive Committee shall together constitute a Board of Directors who shall receive donations and manage and superintend all concerns of the Society, and provide for papers to be presented and discussed at the annual and quarterly meetings. There shall also be Standing Committees, as many and such as the Society may from time to time choose to create.

The President (in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents) shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Board of Directors. The Clerk shall keep a record of all the proceedings of the Society and of the Directors.

The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Curator shall have charge of the books, papers and ancient memorials belonging to the Society, which shall be deposited in such places as may be designated by the

Society or the Board of Directors. He shall also keep a catalogue of all the donations to the Cabinets of the Society, with the donors' names affixed to each, and shall make a written report at the annual meeting. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society and shall make a written report at the annual meeting of the state of the treasury, and at other times whenever requested by the vote of the Directors. Five members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE 5. The annual meeting shall be held on the first Monday of June, and quarterly meetings shall be held on the first Mondays of September, December and March, at such hour and place as shall be indicated in the call for same. Special meetings shall be called by the Executive Committee or by the President on application of three members of the Society, stating the object for which a meeting is desired. Notice of all meetings shall be given by the Clerk by publication of the time and place of the same at least one week prior thereto in one or more newspapers published in Springfield. Such other notice shall be given as the Directors may order.

Seven members of the Society shall constitute a quorum to do business. Any proposed amendment to the By-Laws shall be presented at a meeting at least one week previous to the time when it is to be acted upon, and it shall require at least two-thirds of the votes of those present to adopt an amendment. Meetings of the Directors shall be called by the Clerk, on order of the President or request of two Directors, by written notices deposited in the postoffice at least three days before time of meeting.

Papers and Proceedings

No meeting of the Society was held for the election of officers between June 5, 1881, and June 3, 1889.

FEBRUARY 12, 1889. Meeting of the Society. Rev. Dr. E. H. BYINGTON of Worcester read the following paper:

Rev. Robert Breck Controversy

THE beginning of the second century in the New England Colonies was a period of transition. Many of the best influences of the earlier period were still vigorous. The country had lost the appearance of a newly-settled region. The population was already numerous; the people were living in comfortable houses; their farms were well cultivated and productive. The people had lost something of the provincial character. They were already open to the influences from the larger world beyond the sea. Some of the customs of the earlier years had been dropped. The meeting-houses were larger and more comfortable. There had been a great improvement in the style of sacred music. There were choirs in many of the churches. The practice of reading the scriptures without an exposition had become common. Marriages and funerals were conducted by the ministers much as they are now.

The Half-Way Covenant had brought many changes into the churches. Those who desired to become communicants were not scrutinized as closely as they had been in the earlier times. Yale College had been founded; and it was already an important institution of learning in the new country. The churches of Connecticut had adopted the stronger polity of the Saybrook Platform. They

were more conservative than those of Massachusetts. There had been a departure, more or less general, from the older theology. There was a conservative wing, and a liberal wing, among the ministers. The term Arminian was applied, as a term of reproach, to those who were beginning to question the views of the older Calvinists.

The best way to study this period is to investigate some one of the controversies of the time, important enough to have connections with a large number of people, from different localities, and of different callings in life. Such a controversy was the one which arose in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1734, and continued for two years, in respect to the settlement of Robert Breck as pastor of the church in that town; an event which had a certain importance, in its time, for the people of Springfield, but which interests us mainly on account of the light it casts upon the way of life of the people a century and a half ago.

The town of Springfield was then one hundred years old. There were about a thousand people living within the present limits of that city.¹ Mr. Breck was the fourth pastor of the church. The average length of the pastorate had been thirty years. The number of members of the church was sixty-seven. The valley of the Connecticut was already full of thriving towns and villages. We read in the pamphlets of that time of Longmeadow, and Westfield, and Hadley, Northampton, Hatfield, and Deerfield, among other places in the vicinity. The Hampshire Association of Ministers was a vigorous organization, made up of thirteen pastors, among whom were Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Isaac Chauncy of Hadley, William Williams of Hatfield, Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, and Ebenezer Devotion of Suffield. This association, though organized for the mutual improvement of its members, like similar bodies in our own time, was accused of seeking to control the action of the churches in the selection of their pastors. It was alleged that some of these pastors were Presbyterians, and that they took it for granted that an association had powers like those of a presbytery. Their theological views were, for the most part, those of the earlier Puritans, which are moderately stated in

¹Judge Morris' Historical Address.

the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was before the time of the "Improvements in Theology" set forth by President Edwards. But even then, as we shall see, there was a difference in theological opinion among the pastors, and a still greater difference in their views of Christian liberty. For the most part they were devoted to their religious work. The years 1734 and 1735 were the years of the Great Awakening at Northampton; and Mr. Edwards was too fully absorbed in his work at home to enter very fully into the affairs of the church in Springfield.

The ministers and churches of Massachusetts at that time were profoundly affected by the connection of the Church with the State. The laws of the *Colony* of Massachusetts Bay had limited even the right of suffrage to members of the church. The charter of the *Province* of Massachusetts, which was granted by William and Mary, in 1691, extended the suffrage to all male freeholders who possessed an estate worth two pounds a year. This provision of the charter opened the way for giving to those who were not communicants a voice in the selection of their ministers, and in the direction of the pecuniary interests of the parish. All this tended to liberalize the spirit of legislation. The General Court of the province never enacted a law for the punishment of heresy by fine and banishment, such as that under which William Pynchon had been summoned to appear before the General Court, in 1650, to answer for his book entitled "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption."

Still, the legislation of the provincial period of our history was designed to bring the Church under the fostering care and protection of the State. The basis of this legislation was a law passed in 1692, at the second session of the General Court, under the provincial charter, for the settlement and support of ministers.¹ It requires the inhabitants of each town to be constantly provided with "an able, learned, and orthodox minister, or ministers, of good conversation, to dispense the word of God to them." The minister was to be chosen by the church, "according to the directions given in the Word of God." The inhabitants of the town or precinct "who usually

¹ These laws may be found in the *Province Laws*, Vol. i. 62, 102, 216, 506, 597; and Vol. ii. 58; Vol. iii. 288.

attend on the public worship of God" were to be called together to accept or reject the candidate whom the church had chosen. If they accepted him, he became the legal minister of the town or precinct. If they rejected him, the church might still refer the matter to a council of neighboring churches, and if the council approved the choice of the church, the minister, accepting the call,¹ and duly installed, became the legal pastor, and was entitled to his salary. The amount both of the "settlement" and of the "maintenance" of the minister was fixed by a contract before his introduction to his office; and the people were required to pay toward his settlement and maintenance, "each man his several proportion thereof." The Court of General Sessions of the county was required to see that the contract was fulfilled. If any town or precinct should neglect to provide itself with a suitable minister, the Court of Quarter Sessions was required to "make order upon them speedily to provide themselves with a minister." If this order was disregarded, it was the duty of the court to procure and settle a minister, and order the charge of such minister's settlement and maintenance to be levied on the inhabitants of such town. At a later time, it was made the duty of the General Court itself, on receiving notice from the court of any county that a town or precinct was destitute of a minister, to provide and send to every such town or precinct an able, learned, and orthodox minister, of good conversation, and to provide for his support by adding to the taxes of such town or precinct so much as they should judge sufficient for this end.

These laws assumed a definite method of procedure on the part of churches and congregations, such as is marked out in the Cambridge Platform. This Platform had a quasi-legal authority, having been commended to the churches by the General Court, and it was constantly appealed to as the standard in the discussions of those days.

Thus the churches of the olden time were accustomed to depend on the authority of the State for raising the money to support public worship. In the course of time they learned to follow legal forms and precedents, and to transact much of their most important business

¹ The first law gave the choice to the people of the town. This was amended at the next session so as to give the church the right to lead in the choice.

in a legal spirit and environment. There would sometimes be a doubt whether a council called to settle a minister had been legally called, and whether its proceedings were regular and valid; whether a minister had been "duly settled according to law"; whether a minister was "orthodox, able, learned, and of good conversation," within the meaning of the law; and whether he *continued* to possess all these excellent qualities. On the decision of these questions would depend his right to his salary, and also the right of the town, or parish, to assess a tax for his support. Sometimes the question would be raised whether a town which was supporting a minister had such a minister that it was not liable to be presented by the grand jury, and prosecuted as a destitute town. These discussions and litigations were among the most characteristic things relating to the life and manners of our fathers.

ROBERT BRECK of Springfield was the son of Rev. Robert Breck of Marlboro, of whom the *Boston News-Letter* said: "He was an able minister, a man of great learning in the original languages of the Bible, and in philosophy, and also a man of great courage and prudence." His grandfather was Captain John Breck, "a very ingenious and worthy man." His great grandfather was Edward Breck, a man of wealth and influence in England, who came to this country in 1636, and settled in Dorchester.

Robert Breck was born in Marlboro, Massachusetts, July 25, 1713, and entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen. His rank as a scholar is indicated by the fact that the president and Fellows awarded to him the honorary prize of thirty pounds as a "sober, diligent, and promising student, and candidate for the ministry." He was graduated with honor in 1730. It has been stated that he studied theology with his father, but as the father died the year after his son was graduated, it is probable that he continued his studies without an instructor. He began to preach while he was very young, according to the custom of those times. He was hardly more than twenty when we find him preaching in Scotland, a parish in Windham County, Connecticut, and at various other places in that colony. The young and untrained preacher was very free and bold in his utterances, and very early sub-

jected himself to the charge of heresy, a charge which some of the pastors of the vicinity were disposed to press to his injury.

Sometime in May, 1734, the First Church in Springfield invited him to preach as a candidate for settlement. He came, and preached to the acceptance of the people, so that after about three months the church and parish gave him a call, and proposed terms of settlement. He had then just passed his twenty-first birthday.

Soon after he came to Springfield, there were reports passing from one to another that he was not sound in the faith. The people listened to his sermons, but failed to detect anything that savored of heresy. So far as the pamphlets¹ which were published at the time, on both sides, give us information, it was not claimed that there was anything unsound in his religious teachings after he came to Springfield. The reports all came from Connecticut. A letter was received from a minister in that colony, which stated that "Mr. Breck was not a suitable person to be employed in the ministry," and named Rev. Thomas Clap of Windham, afterwards president of Yale College, and two others, as persons who were responsible for the charges. This letter was put into the hands of Mr. Breck, who went at once to Windham to confer with Mr. Clap in respect to the accusations. Mr. Clap was not satisfied with the result of the conference, and so wrote a long letter to the Hampshire Association of Ministers, in which he set forth the four charges against the young candidate for the pastorate.

1. That he had denied that the passage in 1 John v: 7, concerning the "three that bear record in heaven," and also the passage in John viii, concerning the woman taken in adultery, were of divine inspiration.

2. That he had also denied the necessity of Christ's satisfaction to divine justice for sin, and had said that God might, consistent with His justice, forgive sin without any satisfaction.

3. That he had preached that the heathen, who lived up to the light of nature, would be saved. Christ would be in some way revealed to them; or they would be saved in some other way.

¹ Narrative of the Proceedings of those Ministers of Hampshire County that have disapproved the Settlement of Mr. Robert Breck, Boston, 1736.

Answer to the above, Boston, 1736.

Letter to the author of the answer, Boston, 1737.

4. That there was a general report that he had stolen books from the college library, while a student, and that he had been expelled from college for this offence; and further, that when Mr. Clap had informed him of these reports, he had denied them, a denial which was now known to be false.

In addition to all this it was stated in other letters that Mr. Breck had said publicly, that "if the decrees of God were absolute, he saw no encouragement for men to try to do their duty, for let them do what they would, they could not alter their condition; and that we were not under obligation any further than we had power." On the ground of these statements, it was charged that he was an Arminian.

These charges were the basis of the opposition to the settlement of Mr. Breck. In reply to the charges, he claimed that it was unjust to use against him expressions which he might have made use of in his earliest sermons, at a time when his views were quite immature; that these expressions did not express his settled opinions; that some of them had never been used in his sermons, but only in oral discussion with pastors with whom he was discoursing, for the sake of clearing his own mind; and also, that some of these statements were not inconsistent with the Confession of Faith. He asked to be judged, not by these early sermons, but by the sermons he had preached in his present pulpit; and he repeatedly invited those who questioned his orthodoxy to satisfy themselves by an examination as to his views in theology.

In respect to the charge of taking books from the library, he admitted that there had been a technical offence, which gave some color to the charge, but claimed that the offence, such as it was, was the fault of a boy of thirteen, and that it was so trivial that the faculty did not make it a matter of formal discipline, and that his subsequent deportment had been so exemplary that they had selected him as the student most worthy to receive the honorary prize. Mr. Breck also stated that he had never denied that there had been some foundation for the story, but had only denied it in the exaggerated form in which it had been reported. These are the leading points in the case as it is presented in the pamphlets and in the manuscripts which have been preserved.

Mr. Breck was informed that these reports had excited a degree of prejudice against him among the ministers of the vicinity, and that if he were to accept the call they might refuse to ordain him. He was also informed that they had exerted more or less influence with some members of his congregation. He therefore decided to refer the matter again to the people. He knew that he had the confidence of a large majority of his congregation, and that some of the pastors of the vicinity were satisfied as to his integrity and his orthodoxy, so that there would be no serious difficulty in securing ordination. "If one council will not do it," he said, "another will." With these views he stated, in his reply to the call, that while he was disposed, on some accounts, to accept their invitation, he did not think the provision for his temporal support was sufficient, and that he could not accept the call unless they should see the way clear to increase it. The people were not quite agreed in the matter, and did not think it expedient to increase the salary. So that Mr. Breck finally declined the call, and returned to his friends in Boston.

But the people were not satisfied. The records of the parish show that the majority believed that his settlement had been prevented by the inter-meddling of "some persons of note who had sent writings to some of the ministers of this vicinity." The parish therefore appointed a committee, November 8th, to find out how much ground there was for the charges against Mr. Breck, and also to learn more definitely the views of the ministers. In response to their inquiries, six of the pastors, among whom we find the name of Jonathan Edwards, signed a paper, which reads as follows:—

"Upon consideration of the case of Mr. Robert Breck, represented to us in some letters from Windham and Norwich, we think it advisable that the people of Springfield do no further make their application to him."

The committee reported and the people considered the advice. Six weeks later, the freeholders, and other inhabitants assembled according to law, voted "that application be made to the worthy Mr. Robert Breck to preach the Word of God to us in this place, in order to a settlement." This vote was passed by a decisive majority, and a committee was chosen to proceed to Cambridge, make investigations, ask advice, and act according to their best judgment. The result

was that Mr. Breck returned to Springfield, and began to preach again. This open disregard of the advice of the ministers of the vicinity seems to have been unusual, and it had the effect to lead them to enter more directly into the case. A majority of them seem to have thought that it would be an infringement of their rights for the people to settle a minister within the county in opposition to their advice. The next stage in the business was the effort of the association to investigate the charges against Mr. Breck. They entered into correspondence with various parties in Connecticut; and also induced Mr. Breck to write to Mr. Clap, and endeavor to make his peace with him. They invited Mr. Breck to attend the meeting of the association, in April, 1735, and make such statement as he thought proper with reference to the charges. He seems to have accepted their proposals in good faith. He wrote a letter to Mr. Clap, in which he made such acknowledgments and concessions as he thought proper, but he failed to satisfy that gentleman. He also read to the association a paper which was quite satisfactory to some of the pastors, but not to the majority. Six out of thirteen ministers now took his part, and remained his friends to the end. He next asked the association to satisfy themselves as to his theological views by an oral examination. The majority declined to do this, on the ground that charges were already pending against him. At this stage of the business a committee from the First Parish appeared before the association to inquire "what impediment, if any, there was to the settlement of Mr. Breck; and if such impediment existed, how it could be removed."

This was designed to open the way for a formal examination of the charges of Mr. Clap and others from Connecticut. Mr. Breck and his friends were prepared to welcome such an investigation; but they asked to be permitted to name one or two of the persons who were to pass upon the case. The association appointed seven of their own members to hear the whole case, and to give their judgment. It was pointed out to them that several of these gentlemen had already prejudged the case, and expressed their opinion publicly. Mr. Breck offered to go on with the investigation if one of the committee would retire, or if, that gentleman remaining, he might call in two

unprejudiced persons from outside the county. These propositions were declined by the majority, and so the proposed investigation failed.

At this stage of the business the First Church in Springfield, on the 17th of April, renewed their call to Mr. Breck, and one week later the parish voted to concur. It appeared that a decided majority of the church and congregation were very earnest to secure the permanent settlement of the young preacher as their pastor. It remained to be seen whether the minority of the people, aided by the majority of the association, would be able to prevent it. Mr. Breck, made wiser by the experiences of the year, acted with a degree of prudence and foresight which he had not before shown. He first sent a communication to the people, in which he said that, in the peculiar circumstances of this case, he should seek advice from his friends before he gave an answer to their call. He went soon after to Boston, and requested the pastors of that town, who were well known throughout the province, to examine him as to his views in theology. This they did, and as a result gave him a certificate¹ that they had found him sound in the faith. They say: "These may certify that on the 8th day of May, 1735, we discoursed with Robert Breck, M.A., to our good satisfaction, concerning his orthodoxy in the great doctrines of Christianity, as believed and professed in the churches of Christ in New England, agreeable to the Westminster Confession of Faith; and so recommend him to the grace of God, and are his brethren in Christ."

With this indorsement he returned to Springfield, and on the 28th of July accepted the call. The next step was to select a council for his ordination. The excitement in Springfield ran very high. Four members of the church presented a protest, which was entered upon the records. Twenty-seven members of the parish sent to Mr. Breck a remonstrance against his course in accepting the call before submitting himself to the judgment of the ministers of the association

¹ This was signed by Benjamin Coleman, Joseph Sewall, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft, Samuel Checkley, Joshua Gee, and Mather Byles. One of them said afterwards: "I can assure you that his examination was not a slighty one, if the ability and fidelity of the eight ministers that were concerned in it can be relied on."

as to his orthodoxy and as to his character. Mr. Breck replied that the council would be the proper tribunal to pass upon all these questions.

In the end the church voted, by a decided majority, to call a council for his installation. They selected four churches within the county, designating them by the names of their pastors, and left it with the pastor-elect, with a committee of the church, to select an equal number of churches outside the county. The council, as finally agreed upon, consisted¹ of the church in Hatfield, Rev. William Williams, pastor; Hadley, Rev. Isaac Chauncy, pastor; Suffield, Rev. Ebenezer Devotion, pastor; Sunderland, Rev. William Rand, pastor; Brattle Street Church, Boston, Rev. William Cooper, pastor; Second Church, Boston, Rev. Samuel Mather, pastor; the New Brick Church, Boston, Rev. William Welstead, pastor; and the church in Sudbury, Rev. William Cooke, pastor. The council was to meet October 7th.

Those who opposed the settlement of Mr. Breck denied the legality of the council for two reasons: First, because the votes of the church designated the pastors, instead of the churches to which they ministered; and because these votes left it with the pastor-elect and a committee of the church to select a part of the churches; and, secondly, because the church had no right to call churches from outside Hampshire County. It was replied, on the part of the church, that what was done by its committee, chosen for the purpose, was done by itself,—that the letter missive, which went in the name of the church, was addressed to all the churches, by name, and that they had elected delegates to the council, showing that they understood the invitation. It was also claimed that they had a right to go outside the county for members of the council, as there was nothing in the Cambridge platform to forbid it; and that in this case it was necessary in order to secure an impartial council.

¹ Mr. Williams was the oldest minister in the county, being 70; Isaac Chauncy (H. C., 1693) was grandson of President Chauncy; Ebenezer Devotion, H. C., 1707; William Rand, H. C., 1724; William Cooper, born 1694, H. C., 1712, junior pastor with Doctor Coleman—"there was not a more decided Calvinist than he, yet he was a staunch advocate of religious liberty,"—was elected president H. C., 1737; Samuel Mather, son of Cotton Mather, H. C., 1723; D. D.,—"was charged with looseness of doctrine; William Welstead, H. C., 1716, "an excellent Christian gentleman, and an exemplary minister"; William Cooke, H. C., 1716.

It is not easy to understand, at this distance of time, the intense interest which this case excited, not only in Springfield, but in other parts of New England. The members of the council from Boston went to Springfield a week in advance of the meeting of the council, in order to consult with the ministers of the vicinity, and learn from them directly the grounds of their opposition. How abundant the leisure of those pastors of the olden time! It is a hundred miles from Boston to Springfield, and the stagecoaches, or ministerial chaises, of these days would be more than one day on the journey. Yet they went from town to town in the Connecticut valley, and tried to induce the pastors to submit their complaints against Mr. Breck to the council. When the time for the meeting of the council came, the ministers of the county were present in Springfield to watch the proceedings, and to use their influence to prevent the ordination. The president of Yale College was also there, as the champion of orthodoxy, to direct the measures of the opposition. Rev. Thomas Clap and a number of other pastors from Connecticut were there, with documents to be presented to the council. It was confidently asserted by the opponents of Mr. Breck that whatever the council might do, "there would be no ordination."

In order to secure the fulfilment of this prediction, the dissatisfied members of the parish had induced three justices of the Court of Sessions to come from Northampton to Springfield, with the purpose of using the authority of the court, if necessary, to prevent the council from completing the service for which it had been convened. It was afterwards proved before the General Court that it was at first intended to arrest all the members of the council who had come from outside the county, and lock them up in jail, on the ground that their attempt to sit as members of a council in Hampshire County was an unlawful act,—an usurpation of power,—to the great injury of the minority. Warrants were actually made out for their arrest, but as one of the justices was doubtful as to their right to issue them, this plan was abandoned. The second plan was to arrest Mr. Breck, and hold him in custody until the council should adjourn.

We may well suppose that when the day for the meeting of the council came, business was suspended in Springfield, and that the people

were eagerly watching the proceedings. The council met in the morning, not in the church, but in the house of Madam Brewer, the widow of the last pastor. Seven of the eight churches invited were represented by pastors and delegates. The church in Hatfield, of which the venerable William Williams was pastor, declined to respond, on the ground that the council was irregular and illegal. The council organized by choosing Rev. William Cooper of Boston moderator. Their first act was to invite the church—as well the minority as the majority—to lay all the facts in the case before them. Two papers were presented. The first was a remonstrance against the right of “the body calling itself a council” to ordain Mr. Breck, signed by William Pynchon, Jr., Esq., and others of the minority of the parish. The second was a protest against the right of the council to act in the case, signed by six pastors in the county. The council, after considering these papers, and the reasons which were set forth in support of them, voted: “That the elders and other delegates here assembled are an ecclesiastical council, properly called by the First Church in Springfield to join in the regular carrying on of the ordination of Mr. Breck, and are ready to hear, judge, and act in the case.”

The council next called upon those who objected to Mr. Breck to present the evidence in support of the charges which they made against him. This they declined to do, on the ground that they could not recognize the body then in session as a regular and legal council. The moderator next asked Rev. Mr. Clap and Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the authors of the charges, to let the council know whatever they knew against the candidate, which might disqualify him for the ministry. Mr. Clap proceeded to read a number of documents, most of them sworn to before a magistrate, with reference to the preaching of Mr. Breck while he was in Connecticut. These papers cover the whole case, and constitute the evidence on which the minority based their opposition. They are printed in full in the pamphlet published by the Hampshire ministers. Just as Mr. Clap finished reading the papers, and before Mr. Breck had commenced his reply, an officer entered the room with a warrant for the arrest of “Robert Breck, gentleman,” and for bringing him forthwith before the court then in session in the townhouse, “To answer for such things as should be

objected to him." Mr. Breck was taken by the officer from the council, and carried to the townhouse. Proclamation was made that any persons who knew about the principles or the character of Mr. Breck should come forward and give testimony. Mr. Clap and Mr. Kirkland came forward and presented the evidence which they had just read to the council, with some additional statements. Mr. Breck was also examined by the justices as to his theological opinions. The evidence tended to show that he was not sound in the faith, and also that he had charged various persons with misrepresentation and falsehood. The old charge of taking books from the college library was also referred to in the testimony as a matter of common report. The proceedings seem to have been of the nature of an inquiry into the character of the candidate and his fitness to be a settled minister under the laws of the province.

These proceedings of the secular power had the effect, of course, of suspending the session of the ecclesiastical council. Before adjourning, however, they sent a vigorous protest to the court, in which they say that they "consider it a duty not only to the church in Springfield, but to the churches which they represent, and to all the churches of Christ throughout the province, to inform the court that when they sent their officer to apprehend Mr. Breck they were regularly and legally convened in council, at the desire of the church in Springfield, for the regular carrying on the ordination of said Mr. Breck, according to the order of the gospel in the churches in New England, and were actually hearing the charges against him when the court saw fit to wrest the case out of their hands." Having sent their protest, the council waited for the result. Mr. Breck was held in custody until night, and the justices gave orders to their officer to hold him till the next day; but certain members of the council gave their word that he should appear when called for, and he was permitted to go to his lodgings.

The council reassembled early in the morning, and continued the hearing of the case. Mr. Clap and Mr. Kirkland made oral statement as to the additional testimony they had given in court. The justices soon sent for Mr. Breck, and held him until late in the afternoon, when they made out a warrant which directed the sheriff to take

him to Windsor, in the Colony of Connecticut, and deliver him into the custody of the County Court, "there to answer for those things which might be objected against him." He was taken to Windsor, and delivered to the officers of the court. He was permitted to give bonds for his appearance at a subsequent time to answer to a charge concerning the doctrines which he had preached while within that colony.

These proceedings increased very much the excitement among the people at Springfield. The church appointed a committee to attend him, "in token of respect as their pastor-elect, and the people gave evident marks of their affection for him as he went through the town." The next day they assembled in the meeting-house to pray for his safe return. The record says: "It was a large and weeping assembly." A day or two later Mr. Breck returned to Springfield, and the council resumed its sessions. They considered more fully the charges and the testimony for and against him, and listened to his reply. The decisive paper in the case was a Confession of Faith which he drew up for the satisfaction of the council, as a statement of his mature opinions concerning the leading truths of the gospel.¹ It is a serious and definite statement, following substantially the Westminster Confession, and, by implication, renouncing most of the errors which he had been accused of preaching in Connecticut. After reciting the statement of his belief, he said: "This is the scheme of Christian doctrine which I have learned from the Holy Scriptures, and which I shall think myself obliged to teach others in the best manner I am

¹ In this Confession, which is too long to insert entire, he declares his belief in one God, who is also triune; in the Holy Scriptures, which are of divine authority, and which have been preserved by God's providence "pure and uncorrupt"; in the decrees of God, by which, whatsoever comes to pass in time has been foreordained from all eternity—"yet so as not to take away the will of His creatures, or make Himself the Author of sin"; in the providential government of the world; in the first covenant with Adam; in his fall from his first estate, which involved the race "in his guilt and corruption"; in the covenant of redemption, and the vicarious sacrifice of the God-Man, "which satisfied divine justice for the sins of the elect, and reconciles them to God"; in the work of the Holy Spirit, "who makes effectual application of the benefits of Christ's redemption to the souls of men"; in the inability of fallen man to that which is spiritually good, and the necessity of effectual calling by the Almighty Spirit; in the imputation of the righteousness of Christ for their justification; in the work of sanctification; in the final perseverance of the saints; the eternal separation of the righteous from the wicked; the righteous for life eternal, and the wicked for everlasting punishment.

able, while at the same time I put them that profess to believe in mind that they be careful to maintain good works. It is my prayer that my knowledge of these things may be enlarged, my faith of them confirmed, and that I may be enabled always to keep the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience." This confession was satisfactory to the whole council. It was read by a man on horseback, to a great crowd of people who assembled in the street in front of the house in which the council was holding its sessions; and was subsequently read by the candidate to the congregation at his ordination. The council, after a full consideration of the case, came to a result in which they said, that they found that Mr. Breck had been regularly called by a very great majority to the church and precinct of Springfield; and also that he was sound in the faith, and of good conversation; so that they advise the people "to continue their regards for him." "Nevertheless," they say, "having met with an unusual interposition and hindrance in carrying on the work upon which we were called, we do not think it advisable to proceed further herein at this time, but that this council be adjourned" to meet in Boston, October 21st. The moderator remained in Springfield over the Sabbath, and read this result to the congregation.

The object of the adjournment was not only to allow time for the excitement to subside, but also to test the legality of the interference of the secular authorities with the work of the council. Two weeks later, the church appointed a committee to bring the matter before the General Court. This committee presented a memorial to the General Court on the 25th of November, in which they stated the fact of the call of Mr. Breck by a very great majority of the church and precinct, and the convening of a council for his ordination, and say that "on the day appointed for that solemnity John Stoddard, Ebenezer Pomeroy, and Timothy Dwight, Esqrs., his Majesty's justices of the peace for the County of Hampshire, had caused him to be arrested and taken from the aforesaid ecclesiastical council, and brought before them, and that they examined him touching divers points of doctrine; and, further, that by a warrant from the said justices, he was sent to Windsor, in the Colony of Connecticut, where he was bound over by the County Court to answer to a charge touching his doctrines." They ask the

General Court to decide whether these proceedings have been according to law, and if not, to grant such redress as the case admits.

The journals of the General Court show that the case was very fully considered by that body. It was first assigned to the 5th of December, at which time the papers were read. It was voted to inquire into the matter of complaint, and to appoint a committee to report what action ought to be taken. Notice was sent to the justices at Northampton, and to other parties interested. The General Court heard not only the committee from Springfield, but Mr. Breck, and the moderator of the council, and various other persons. The matter was before the Court December 5th and 6th, 9th, 24th, 26th, and 27th. The decision was: first, that the council was duly called, and was properly and legally a council, according to the usages of the churches; and, secondly, that the justices had no right to "interrupt the church and ecclesiastical council, while they were, in the exercise of their just rights, investigating the case."

Strengthened by this decision, the council, which had been continued by successive adjournments, reassembled at Springfield on the 27th of January, 1736, and "finding that the people did abide firm in their choice of Mr. Breck, and their desire to have him as their pastor," they proceeded to ordain him as pastor of the church. The sermon was preached by Mr. Cooper, the moderator, from Matthew xiii: 3. In this sermon, which was printed, Mr. Cooper bears this testimony in respect to the young pastor: "I think myself bound to testify, on this occasion, that in all this time I never heard one hard word drop from you respecting any person of any order. I have seen your tears, admired your silence, and hope God has heard your prayers. May the fruit of all be to humble you, to prove you, and to make you a greater blessing to this church and people."

Those who were opposed to Mr. Breck made one more effort to prevent him continuing as the minister of the church. They signed a complaint to the Court of Sessions for the county, which set forth that the church in Springfield was destitute of a minister duly settled according to law; that one Robert Breck had taken upon himself the office of pastor, under pretence that he had been ordained; that the said Breck is not qualified, according to the laws of this province, to

be a gospel minister, inasmuch as he is not orthodox in his belief, and not of good conversation; that, according to law, there can be no money raised for the settlement and support of any person in the ministry but such as are orthodox and of good conversation. They therefore ask the court to make such order in the premises "that some suitable person may be settled in the pastoral office in said church, it being contrary to the law of this province, and the peace of the king, that a person of such principles and conversation should take upon himself the office of a minister, or that the said church should be destitute of a settled minister." The court took this petition into consideration on the 2d of March, and summoned the church and parish to appear and answer the complaint. The parish appointed a committee of five, of which William Pynchon, Jr., Esq., was chairman, to represent them before the court, and instructed them to "carry the case as far as necessary, from court to court, in order to a *final* determination of the matter." As there is no further reference to the case in the records of the parish, it is probable that it never came before the court for trial.

• These proceedings were followed by a number of pamphlets, which are the authentic sources of information concerning these matters. The first was published in Boston, 1736, a few months after the ordination had taken place. It is entitled "A Narrative of the Proceedings of those Ministers of the County of Hampshire that have disapproved the settlement of Mr. Robert Breck." It is a vigorous pamphlet of about one hundred pages. This was followed the same year by "An Answer to the Hampshire Narrative." This also contains one hundred pages. It is said to have been written by Rev. William Cooper of Boston. The next year appeared another thick pamphlet, with the title, "A Letter to the Author of the Answer to the Narrative."

While these proceedings in court, and this war of pamphlets were going on, the young pastor set himself to conciliate the opposition among his people. He gave himself to the duties of his office with exemplary fidelity. It is said of him, that if he wished any favor he would ask it from some one of his people who had been unfriendly. Such an expression of his confidence won their good will. He chose his

wife wisely also. He married, a few weeks after his ordination, Eunice Brewer, the daughter of his predecessor, who had been universally loved and revered. He invited Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, who had been one of the most decided of his opponents, to perform the marriage ceremony; and this act of courtesy is said to have modified his opposition. In a few years he was accepted by his brethren in the ministry, as well as by his people, as a minister "able, learned, orthodox and of good conversation."

Mr. Breck was the pastor of the church in Springfield forty-eight years. The church grew with the town, and its minister became a man of great influence in the Connecticut valley. It is more than a hundred years since his death; but the traditions concerning him at Springfield are still fresh, and he is held in great esteem and veneration. His funeral sermon was preached by Doctor Lathrop of West Springfield, who had been a student in divinity under him. In this sermon he said: "His intellectual powers were naturally superior, and were brightened by his education, and enlarged by an extensive acquaintance with men and books. He accustomed himself to a close manner of reasoning and thinking, and filled up his time with diligent application. History was his amusement, divinity his study; he excelled in both, especially the latter. He was an accomplished gentleman, and an exemplary Christian. His attendance on the duties of his profession was constant, his preparations for the sanctuary were mature, his public prayers were deliberate and solemn, his sermons were full of thought,—dressed in the most proper language, and communicated in the easiest manner. His religious sentiments were formed on a careful examination of the scriptures, without servile attachment to sects or systems. His turn of thinking was liberal yet scriptural, exalted yet humble."

Such was the man as he seemed to his contemporaries at the close of a pastorate of half a century.

MARCH 4, 1889. Meeting of the Society. Rev. WILLIAM RICE, Judge A. M. COPELAND and A. H. KIRKHAM appointed a committee to revise by-laws. Rev. J. W. HARDING of Longmeadow read a paper on *Comparative Civilizations bordering respectively on the Saint Lawrence and Connecticut Rivers*.

MARCH 23, 1889. Meeting of the Society. The committee on revision of the by-laws made report.

MARCH 30, 1889. Meeting of the Society. Voted to accept report and adopt new by-laws as reported by the committee. Voted to lease rooms in Pynchon National Bank block. Voted in and enrolled new members.

JUNE 3, 1889. Annual meeting. New members enrolled. Officers elected—

• *President*, Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM. *Vice-Presidents*: Rev. Dr. WILLIAM RICE, Judge WM. S. SHURTLEFF, EPHRAIM W. BOND.

Committee appointed to furnish new rooms: JAMES KIRKHAM, W. F. ADAMS, R. O. MORRIS, H. H. BOWMAN, MRS. J. E. RUSSELL, MRS. H. M. PHILLIPS, MRS. Dr. J. S. HURLBUT, MRS. Dr. M. CALKINS, MRS. A. J. SMITH.

Rev. Dr. E. H. BYINGTON of Boston read the following paper:

William Pynchon, the Founder of Springfield

IN writing of the early Puritan ministers of New England, it has been necessary to speak of a great many persons besides the ministers, for the ministers were closely connected with all the public men of the colonies, and with the social and political interests of the people; so that we have already seen what sort of men the political leaders of the people were, how they lived, and what ideals they were working out. The picture of Puritan life, however, will be more complete, if we study the lives of some of those who were not ministers. There were men in the colonies who guided the people in working out their principles, as Eliot, and Hampden, and



Pym had led the Puritans in the Mother Country. We think at once of Gov. John Winthrop, and his son of the same name, the Governor of Connecticut, and of the more conservative Governor Dudley, of Sir Henry Vane, also a Governor of Massachusetts, and of William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, and his successor Edward Winslow. But the lives of these men have been often written, and very little that is new remains to be said about them.

I have chosen, therefore, to write of another man of affairs, of the Colonial age, who is not so well known as some of the other men, though he stood in the front rank among the founders of Massachusetts. William Pynchon was a Puritan of the Puritans, who came to New England with John Winthrop, in 1630. He was one of the men who signed the notable agreement at Cambridge, August 16, 1629, with Winthrop and Dudley and Isaac Johnson and eight others, which led the way to the settlement of New England. He was an original member of the Massachusetts company, formed in England, and was one of its officers. He was the representative of an ancient and wealthy English family.

"The first of the Pynchon family,"¹ says President Thomas R. Pynchon, D.D., now of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, "came to England with the Conqueror, and had a grant of manors in Lincolnshire. Thence they drifted, after some generations, into Northamptonshire, where W. Pynchon resided, who was the grandfather of Henry Chichley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished in the time of Kings Henry IV., V. and VI., between 1414 and 1443. From Northamptonshire they passed into Essex, and had property at Writtle, near Chelmsford. The church of that town, a noble building, has in its chancel many fine monuments running through several generations of the family." Nicholas Pynchon was sheriff of London, in 1532.² His son John, of Writtle, Essex, married Jane, heiress of Sir Richard Empson, one of the ministers of Henry VII. John Pynchon died in 1573, leaving six children. His second son, John, settled in Springfield, Essex, near Chelmsford. His

¹ MS. letter from President T. R. Pynchon, dated Trinity College, Hartford, March 4, 1886.

² *Heraldic Journal*, No. 14, April, 1866, quoted in Records of the Pynchon Family.

son William, of whom I am to write, was born, probably in Springfield, about 1590. The date of his birth is determined by an inscription¹ on his portrait, now in possession of the Essex Institute, at Salem, which indicates that the portrait was painted in 1657, and that his age was sixty-seven years.

William Pynchon, gent, as his name is always written in the records of the colony, was a man of fortune, well versed in affairs, and well educated. It is said that he was not a graduate from the university; but his works show that he had some knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and a wide acquaintance with the theological literature of his time. He was one of the patentees named in the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from Charles I., which bears the date of March 28, 1628.² He was also named in the same charter one of the eighteen Assistants, and was connected with the government of the company before it was transferred to this side of the Atlantic by the notable vote of its members. He was the leader in the settlement of Roxbury, and one of the founders of the first church in that town.³ He was engaged in business, perhaps as a merchant. While at Roxbury he was for some years treasurer of the colony, and was elected, from year to year, one of the Assistants. He was early licensed as a fur trader. In 1632, he paid twenty-five pounds into the treasury of the colony for his license as a fur trader. The same sum was paid each year until 1635, when the General Court remitted one-fifth of the amount, probably because the trade had become less lucrative.

It is not easy to understand why it was that, within five or six years after the settlements near Boston were begun, the people in a number of these settlements were moved by a common impulse to go further west. The reasons given, says Winthrop,⁴ were their "lack of accommodations for their cattle, so that they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more friends to help them; and also the fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of its being possessed by others," Dutch or English; and,

¹ "Guil. Pynchon armg. Effigies. | Delin. Anno Dom. 1657. | æt. 67."

² *Bancroft*, Vol. i. 265, 281. *Mass. Records*, Vol. i.

³ *History of Boston*, Vol. . 401-411.

⁴ Winthrop's *History of New England*, Vol. i. 140.

what is always the decisive reason with persons seized by the western fever, "the strong bent of their spirit to remove thither." Cotton Mather says, "It was not long before the Massachusetts Colony was become like a hive overstocked with bees, and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of swarming into plantations extending further into the country." "The Colony," he says,¹ "might fetch its description from the Scripture: 'Thou hast brought a vine out of England; Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it; Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land.' But still there was one stroke waiting, to wit, '*She sent forth her branches unto the river,*' whereupon many of the planters, belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown, and Roxbury, took up resolutions to travel an hundred miles westward from those towns for a further settlement upon that famous river, the report of which had made a little Nilus of it." All of which means, that Boston, Cambridge, and the rest were full, as the people thought, and they were already feeling the stirrings of that wonderful instinct which in two centuries and a half has belted the continent with Puritan populations, which stretch already as far as the Massachusetts charter gave a title, even to the western sea.

The 14th of May, 1634,² the General Court granted leave to the inhabitants of Newtown "to remove their habitations to some convenient place." On the 6th of May, 1635, it was voted to grant liberty to the inhabitants of Watertown, and to the inhabitants of "Rocksbury to remove themselves to any place they shall think meete, not to prejudice another plantation, provided they continue still under this government." That same year a company, or several companies, settled on the Connecticut River within the present limits of Connecticut. In 1635, two men, John Cable and John Woodcock, were sent by Mr. Pynchon to the Connecticut River to build a house for the new plantation. It is probable that Mr. Pynchon himself had before this crossed the country, to the valley of the river, and selected the place for the settlement.

In the spring of 1636, Mr. Pynchon and seven other men made

¹ Quoted by Dr. Holland in *History of Western Massachusetts*, i. 20.

² *Mass. Records*, i. 136.

their way through the wilderness, following, it is supposed, the Bay Path, so called, and began a new plantation. Their goods were sent by water, in Governor Winthrop's vessel,—the "Blessing of the Bay,"—which left Boston, April 26th. We ride to Springfield, over almost the exact route of the Bay Path, in less than three hours. The pioneers were perhaps a week cutting their road through the forest, following, for a part of the way, an Indian trail. The date of their arrival is not known, but on the 14th of May they subscribed an agreement, which contains fifteen articles, and which was designed as the fundamental law of the colony. It gives it the name of the Plantation of Agawam, spelled in the agreement *Agaam*, according to the pronunciation of the Indians of the vicinity. The first article provides for the settlement of a "Godly and faithful minister," "with all convenient speed, with whom we propose to joyne in church covenant, to walk in all the ways of Christ."¹ The second limits the number of families to forty, or by general consent to fifty at the utmost. The others provide for the allotment of land to the various settlers, and for defraying the expenses of the settlement. It was stipulated that no man except Mr. William Pynchon "shall have above ten acres for his house lot." On laying out the land, the general course was to "allow each inhabitant a house lot on the west side of" what is now called Main street, "eight rods wide, from the street to the river; a like width in the meadow in front of his house, to the foot of the hill; and a wood lot of the same breadth, extending, at first eighty, and afterwards an hundred rods, nearly to the top of the hill; and, when practicable, an allotment in the intervale, on the west side of the river, of the same width, and, as near as might be, directly against his lot."²

Mr. Pynchon was the magistrate of the colony, at first under a general commission from the General Court, dated March 3, 1636,³ which authorizes eight persons to determine, in a judicial way, differences, and to inflict corporal punishment, or imprisonment, or to levy fines, in various plantations on the Connecticut River.

¹ Judge Morris' Address, 1876, Appendix.

² Address by George Bliss, March 24, 1828.

³ *Mass. Colonial Records*, Vol. i. 170, 171.

There is on record, at the Registry of Deeds in Hampden County,¹ a paper which conveys the Indian title to the lands, on both sides of the river for four or five miles, to William Pynchon, Esq., Mr. Henry Smith (his son-in-law), and their heirs and associates. It is dated July 15, 1636, and is signed by thirteen Indians, by their marks. The consideration acknowledged in the deed is eighteen fathom of wampum, eighteen coats, eighteen hatchets, eighteen hoes, and eighteen knives, besides certain presents made to some of the chiefs.

The year following the settlement, the people secured the services of Rev. George Moxon, and under him they formed a church.² Mr. Moxon had received Episcopal ordination in England. He was a graduate of Sidney College, Cambridge, and took his degree of A.B. in 1623. He was a personal friend of Mr. Pynchon, and continued in the colony only so long as Mr. Pynchon did.³ A house was built for him by a voluntary assessment in 1639; and he received a salary of forty pounds a year, of which, in 1638, Mr. Pynchon paid £24 6s. 8d.⁴

All the settlements on the Connecticut—Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor, and Agawam—were at first united under a joint commission, appointed by the General Court of Massachusetts, of which Mr. Pynchon was a member. He attended a court held at Hartford in November, 1636, and also in 1637. In 1638, Rev. George Moxon and John Burr were chosen to represent Agawam at the same court.⁵ It had been uncertain how many of the settlements were under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; but, in 1638, the people of Agawam became satisfied that "by God's Providence they were now fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction"; and they chose Mr. William Pynchon "to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agawam," "till we receive further directions from the General Court in the Massachusetts Bay." The record of this action occupies the second page in the manuscript volume known as "The Pynchon Record Book." The magistrate was authorized "to administer oaths, issue warrants, hear and examine misdemeanors, inflict corporal punishment by whipping and the stocks, to commit to prison;

¹ Dr. Holland's History, Vol. i. 29.

⁴ *History of Connecticut Valley*, 33.

² *History of Connecticut Valley*, 33.

⁵ Holland's History, Vol. i. 33.

³ Holland's History, Vol. i. 31.

to try actions for debt or trespass, and keep records of verdicts, judgments and executions, and whatever else may tend to the king's peace."¹ It was agreed, on account of the scarcity of men, that six persons should be deemed a "good and sufficient jury to try any action, under the sum of ten pounds."

This was really a form of government, adopted by the inhabitants of the colony, and was an assumption of the right of self-government, and especially of independence of the authority of Connecticut. This action led to a prolonged controversy, in which Mr. Pynchon acted as the leader of the colonists. Their position was finally sustained by the General Court of Massachusetts, which, on the 2d of June, 1641, adopted an elaborate paper,² which asserted the claim of the Massachusetts Colony to the plantation, and ordered that "William Pynchon, gent, for the year shall have full power and authority to govern the inhabitants of Agawam, now Springfield, to hear and determine all causes and offences, both civil and criminal, that reach not to life, limbs, or banishment, according to the laws here established." A little earlier than this, namely, the 14th of April, 1640, the inhabitants assembled in general town meeting, and changed the name of their plantation from Agawam to Springfield, as a compliment to Mr. Pynchon, whose home was in Springfield before his removal to New England.³ Mr. Pynchon was the magistrate of the colony from the beginning to 1651, first as a member of the joint commission, then by vote of the people of Agawam, and after June 2, 1641, by commission from the General Court.

The records of his court show the variety and importance of his duties. One of the most important cases was a suit for slander. John Woodcock was complained of for slandering the pastor, Rev. George Moxon, by saying that the said Moxon had taken a false oath against him at Hartford. Mr. Moxon claimed £9 19s. damages, but the jury awarded him £6 13s. There were suits for the collection of debts, and for violation of contract. Estates were settled in Mr. Pynchon's court, and the inventories in his Record Book give us glimpses of the sort of property and of household furniture in those times,

¹ *Ibid.*

³ Holland's History, Vol. i. 34.

² *Massachusetts Records*, Vol. i. 321.

as well as of the prices at which articles were valued. In 1651, Hugh Parsons was apprehended on charge of witchcraft. The testimony against him is recorded by Mr. Pynchon. The duty of the magistrate consisted in the examination of witnesses. Parsons was sent to Boston for trial. Witnesses were produced, and the testimony taken in Springfield was read, and the prisoner was found guilty of the sin of witchcraft. The General Court reviewed the case and reversed the verdict. The wife of Parsons had been insane and had taken the life of her infant child. She was arrested for the double crime of witchcraft and murder. Her examination was before Mr. Pynchon. She was tried in Boston and found guilty of murder only. As there is no further record in her case, it is probable that she died in prison. This was forty years earlier than the great excitement in connection with witchcraft in Salem and Boston. It was, so far as I know, the earliest trial for witchcraft in Massachusetts.

The settlers very early adopted a code of municipal regulations. The annual town meeting was fixed upon the first Tuesday in November.¹ Every householder was required to have a ladder annexed to his house, as a security in case of fire, and to have his chimney swept at stated periods. It was forbidden to carry fire from house to house, not being sufficiently covered, on penalty of a fine of 5s., and a liability for all damages. As the houses were covered with thatch, and the chimneys were wooden frames covered with mortar, and there was much inflammable material in the street, the need of this regulation is apparent. November 14, 1639, it was ordered that the "Sealed Peck, which Mr. Pynchon hath, shall be the ordinary Peck to buy and sell by in the Plantation." "The exercise of trayning was to be practiced one day in every month." No person was to trade, give, or lend to any Indian any quantity of powder, little or great, under penalty of 40s. The wages of carpenters were fixed at 2s. 6d. a day, for the nine best months, and at 2s. from the 10th of November to the 10th of February. Mowers should have 2s. 6d. a day. Sawers, 6s. 6d. per hundred feet, "they to fall and hewe, and the owner to bring to the pitt." Ordinary farm labor was 2s. a day for nine months, and 18d. for three months; only from the 24th of

¹ Address by George Bliss, 1828, Appendix N.

April to the 24th of June they "are left to their liberty as men can agree." A day's work was the whole day, allowing convenient time for food and rest. Violation of these rules to be punished "by the Magistrate according to the quality and nature of the offence." Any man elected to any office in the town, and refusing or neglecting to serve, "shall pay to the Town Treasurer 20s., unless he have served in that office the year before." And any inhabitant who should absent himself from town meeting should be liable to a fine of 2s. 6d. "January 8, 1646, it was agreed by the plantation with John Matthews to beat the drum for the meetings, for a year's space, at 10 A. M. on Lecture days, and 9, on the Lord's days, in the founnoons only, and he is to beat it from Mr. Moxon's to R. Stebbins house, and ye meetings to begin within half an hour after, for which his paynes, he is to have 7d., in wampum, of every family in the town, or a peck of Indian corn if they have not wampum."

Mr. Pynchon succeeded in preserving friendly relations with the Indians of the vicinity by a wise and conciliatory policy.¹ One part of his policy was to treat the Indians as an independent people. In 1648, for example, he was directed by Lieutenant-Governor Dudley to take into custody certain Indians who had murdered some other Indians. In his answer Mr. Pynchon convinced Governor Dudley that neither the murderers nor those murdered were under the jurisdiction of the colony. The attempt to interfere was at once abandoned by the authorities at Boston. But whenever the Indians committed offences against our own people, Mr. Pynchon claimed jurisdiction, and by a wise blending of authority, with an appeal to the Indian's sense of justice, he commonly succeeded in securing redress. The Indians had confidence in him, and were plainly ready to be guided by his wishes.

Besides his public duties, Mr. Pynchon was an active business man. The trade in beaver and other furs was very lucrative, and this trade in the vicinity of Springfield was controlled by him. To facilitate this trade, he early established a warehouse near the southern limit of what was then considered Springfield. This place still retains the name of Warehouse Point, and is a station on the railroad below

¹ Address by Judge Morris, 1876.

Springfield. It was for many years the center of an extensive trade with the Indians, and was the point from which the furs were shipped to England. Mr. Pynchon added very largely to his fortune while in Springfield, and at the time of his return to England was one of the richest men in New England.

He was also the representative man of Springfield abroad. The communications of the government at Boston were made through him. For a few years after he went to Springfield he was naturally left off from the Board of Assistants. But, in 1643, the colony having become well established, and the Bay Path more easily passed over, Mr. Pynchon was again elected an Assistant, and was re-elected annually until 1650.

This brings us to the time of the publication of Mr. Pynchon's famous book, entitled "The Meritorious Price of our Redemption." It is a small quarto volume of a hundred and fifty-eight pages, "printed in London, by T. M. and George Whittington and James Moxon, and to be sold at the Blue Anchor in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, 1650." It is now exceedingly rare. There is one copy in the Congregational Library, Boston, one in the British Museum, and only one other, so far as I can learn,—that an elegantly bound copy that has been recently purchased by Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon, D.D., of Hartford, Connecticut. Some years ago this copy brought four hundred dollars, a larger sum than the whole edition cost in the beginning.

This book was received in Boston in the summer of 1650, and produced a great excitement. The General Court,¹ coming together in October, adopted a solemn protest against the many errors and heresies of the book. This protest was made, they say, "for vindication of the truth," and also "to keep the people here committed to our care in the true knowledge and faith of our Lord Jesus Christ"; "and likewise, for the clearing of ourselves to our Christian brethren and others in England," "where this book was printed and is dispersed." They protest their innocence, as not "privy to the writinge, composinge, printinge, nor divulginge thereof," and declare that they "detest and abhorre many of the opinions and assertions therein, as

¹ *Mass. Records*, Vol. iii. 215.

false, erronious, and hereticale"; and for proof of their sincerity in this protest they "condemne the said booke to be burned in the market place, at Boston, by the common executioner." They also summon Mr. Pynchon to appear before the next General Court to answer whether "he will owne the booke as his or not, which, if he doth, we purpose (God willinge) to proceed with him according to his demerits, unless he retract the same." It was also ordered that Mr. John Norton of Ipswich "should be entreated to answer Mr. Pynchon's book with all convenient speed." It was also ordered,—and this casts light upon the motive for these rapid and extreme measures,—that the foregoing declaration "be signed by the Secretary, and sent to England to be printed there." No one can tell, at this distance of time, all the reasons for this unusual action by the General Court. It is plain that it was not simply a judicial proceeding. There were politics in the case. The state of parties; the opinions of men who happened to be, just at that time, at the head of affairs; the fears of those who were most solicitous to maintain a certain type of theological opinion; the presence in the colony of men whose views were more liberal, and the desire to hold them in check,—all these entered into the motives of those who controlled the action of the General Court.

Mr. Pynchon was an honored magistrate, a member for many years of the General Court, a gentleman now past his sixtieth year, whose opinions had been treated with great respect throughout the history of the colony, and who was certainly entitled to be treated with great consideration. But the defection of such a man from the truth, as it was held by men like Endicott and Dudley, would be a very serious matter, and one that must be corrected if possible. There was a law of Massachusetts, passed four years before, which condemned to fine and banishment whosoever should "go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion by broaching and maintaining" certain "damnable heresies," among which was specified that of "denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins."¹ This, the book was understood to do. Mr. Palfrey also suggests that there was an unusual solicitude in the colony as to the course of affairs

¹ This is the statement of Mr. Palfrey. He cites *Massachusetts Records*, Vol. ii. 177; Code of 1658, 34.

in England, after the execution of King Charles, and also that the moderating influence of Governor Winthrop was removed just at this time.¹ We know that Thomas Dudley was Governor,² and John Endicott, Deputy Governor, both of whom were men disposed to favor extreme measures for the maintenance of their standard of orthodoxy. A letter written by John Cotton to certain brethren in England, at the time, shows that the action was hastened by the fact that "a ship was in the harbor, ready to sail for England." "Now the court,"³ he says, "perceiving by the title-page, that the contents of the book were unsound and derogatory both to the justice of God and the grace of Christ, which would do great harm, they judged it meet, whilst the ship stayed, to declare their own judgement against the book, and to send a copy of their declaration to England by that ship."

The book itself is worthy of more than a passing notice as a part of the history of the times. It is the production of a very intelligent layman, living upon the outermost rim of civilization, and moved by the currents of theological opinion in his time to put forth his independent protest against opinions that seemed to him inconsistent with the Word of God. Those were the days of the Westminster Assembly, which sat from 1643 to 1647. The Assembly had carried the expression of Calvinistic doctrine further than moderate Puritans like Mr. Pynchon would be ready to go. For Mr. Pynchon, like many of those who came with Governor Winthrop, had been a devout member of the Church of England. He was one of the wardens in the church in Springfield, in Old England.⁴ His theological opinions had been formed under the preaching of the ministers of the Established Church, rather than under the Calvinistic preachers of New England. He was properly a Non-Conformist, but not a Separatist.

The Assembly⁵ declares that Christ "bore the weight of God's wrath"; "laid down his life an offering for sin"; "satisfied divine

¹ Palfrey's History, Vol. ii. 395, note.

² Massachusetts Records, Vol. iii. 182.

³ Appendix to John Norton's Answer to Pynchon.

⁴ These facts are given on the authority of Professor Pynchon of Hartford, who states that there is a tablet in the church in Springfield which shows the fact.

⁵ Larger Catechism, ii. 49. Ibid., ii. 38.

justice"; was "under the infinite wrath of God"; that He "did fully discharge the debt of" the elect, "and did make a proper, real, and full satisfaction to his Father's justice in their behalf"; that we are justified by the "imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ" unto us; that God "imputes the righteousness of Christ" unto us.¹ The ministers of New England were accustomed to use language which went further than these guarded statements of the Assembly. John Norton, in his reply to Pynchon, maintains, in an elaborate argument, that the sins of the elect were imputed to our Saviour; that for their sins he suffered the torments of hell, and that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to the elect.

The heresies which the General Court found upon the title-page of Mr. Pynchon's book were these: That Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath which commonly are called hell torments; and that He did not bear our sins by imputation, and consequently did not bear the curse of the Law for them; and also that the righteousness of Christ is not imputed to us. The most vigorous part of the book is the discussion of the texts of Scripture which are supposed to prove that our sins were imputed to Christ, and that He suffered the wrath of God, and the punishment due for the sins of the elect. The discussion of Isa. liii: 4-6; 2 Cor: v. 21; Ps. xxii: 1; Matt. xxvi: 37; Luke xxii: 43, 44; and Heb. v: 7, is very close and logical. I have followed his reasonings with great interest. He shows an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek texts, refers to the Septuagint version, compares the rendering of various passages in the Genevan version with that in Tyndale, and in King James' version. He was a correspondent of Ainsworth, and quotes in support of his opinions an autograph letter from that theologian. He quotes Ainsworth, Broughton, Robert Wilmot, John Calvin, Martin Luther, Nichols, Richardson, Ursinus, Bastingius, Goodwin, Palanus, John Forbes, and St. Augustine, thirteen in all of the great theologians.

Following this polemic part of the book is the constructive part, in which he attempts to define the real basis of our redemption. In this he starts from the passage in Rom. v: 19, which reads: "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience

¹ *Confession*, xi. s. 11, ch. xi. 1. *Larger Catechism*, 271.

of one shall many be made righteous." He holds that as Adam's disobedience ruined the world, so Christ's perfect obedience, as our Mediator, redeemed the world. Christ had His Work set before Him by the Father. This was the work which He had completed, when He said, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do."¹ If His obedience had been in the slightest degree imperfect, it would have vitiated the entire work. His death was the final test of His obedience. If He had died unwillingly He had died in vain. So the death of Christ was a voluntary death. "I lay down my life that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."² Mr. Pynchon says: "His divine nature was the altar upon which He sacrificed His human nature." His humanity was the oblation. "Then," he goes on to say, "His mediatorial death may well be called a miraculous death. It was no less miraculous than the raising the dead body of Lazarus." The Devil and his agents had power to bruise Him, and buffet Him, and to nail Him to the cross. But they had no power to separate His soul from His body. So His death was not passive. It was active, and so a part of His mediatorial obedience. He quotes Augustine, who says, "Who can sleep when he wist, as Christ died when he would? Who can lay aside his garment as Christ laid aside His flesh? Who can leave his place so as Christ left His life?"³ Christ died before the thieves, so that "Pilate marvelled if He were already dead."⁴ He died when the life of obedience set for Him was finished, "whereof His mediatorial death was the masterpiece." He said that it was "finished," and then, "He bowed His head and gave up the ghost."⁵ So Christ did not suffer the wrath of God, but He did the will of God. We may be saved because the law, which was broken by disobedience, was honored and restored by the obedience of the God-man.

It was ordered by the General Court, after they had burned Mr. Pynchon's book, "that Mr. Norton, one of the reverend elders of Ipswich, should be intreated to answer Mr. Pynchon's booke with all convenient speed."⁶ This John Norton was a man of great reputa-

¹ John xvii: 4.

² John x: 17, 18.

³ Tractate upon John, 119.

⁴ Mark xv: 44.

⁵ John xix: 30.

⁶ *Mass. Records*, Vol. iii. 216.

tion in his day. He was a student at Cambridge University, and was master of an elegant Latin style. He succeeded John Cotton as pastor of the First Church in Boston.¹ His widow, Madame Norton, gave the Old South the ground on which the Old South meeting-house on Washington street now stands.² Mr. Norton's reply is entitled, "A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity, the Sufferings of Christ." It is a very able and learned work, thoroughly scientific in its methods, and sets forth the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly concerning the Atonement, and goes beyond that Confession in respect to Imputation.³ For this work Mr. Norton received from the General Court the sum of £20, with a vote of thanks; and they sent his book to England to be printed.

In addition to providing for a reply to Mr. Pynchon's book, the General Court advised him to confer with Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Norrice, and Mr. Norton about some points in his book.⁴ His conference with them naturally broadened his view of the subject he had in hand.⁵ He had been but a solitary thinker, and in giving emphasis to his protest against the extreme theory of satisfaction he had failed to do justice to the relation of the work of the Redeemer to sin and guilt. This, as a conscientious man, he was more than willing to acknowledge. Accordingly he appeared before the General Court, in May, 1651, with the following paper:—

"According to the Court's advice, I have Conferred with Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice, and Mr. Norton about some points of the greatest consequence in my book, and I hope I have so explaind my meaninge to them as to take off the worst construction, and it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my book so fully of the price, and merit of Christ's sufferings as I should have done, for in my booke I call them but trialls of his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplyfy and exalt the mediatorial obedyence of Christ as the only meritorious price of man's redemption: but now, at present, I am much inclined to think that his sufferings were appointed by God for a further end, namely, as the due punishment of our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice for man's redemption.

Your humble servant, in all dutifull respects,

WILLIAM PYNCHON."⁵

¹*Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. i. 464. *Sprague's Annals*, Congl., Vol. i. 58.

²*Memorial History of Boston*, Vol. i. 194.

³Palfrey, Vol. ii. 396, note.

⁴*Mass. Records*, Vol. iii. 239, also 248.

⁵*Mass. Records*, Vol. iii. 229.

This is spoken of by several authorities as a retraction; and Doctor Holland¹ intimates that he "was convinced against his will." But there is no retraction here; but only a frank statement by a sincere and ingenuous man that after conference with his friends, the learned divines, he had become satisfied that in one respect he had failed to do justice to one side of an important truth; and further, that he found that some of his expressions had been misunderstood. Certainly, Mr. Pynchon was not the man to be "convinced against his will," or to retract any statement which he believed to be true. Besides, as we shall see, Mr. Pynchon was really master of the situation, and his opponents had more occasion to fear him than he had to fear them. That his paper was not taken as a retraction is evident also from the action of the court, which voted that this paper showed Mr. Pynchon to be in a hopeful way, and dismissed him till the October session to study the questions by the aid of Mr. Norton's reply, directing that he should appear in October and give all due satisfaction.

At this session of the General Court Mr. Pynchon was not re-elected one of the Assistants, and was left out of the magistracy. In October, he failed to appear, and the General Court² judged it "meet that all patience be exercised towards him, that he may be reduced into the way of truth, and renounce his errors and heresies," and therefore, as nothing else was possible, gave him until the next General Court in May, "that he may give full satisfaction for his offence, which they more desire than to proceed to so great a censure as his offence deserves." So he was placed under bonds of £100 to appear in May "to stand to the judgement and censure of the Courte."

This is the last reference to this case in the records of Massachusetts. Mr. Pynchon did not appear at the next session of the court. Whether his bail of £100 was forfeited we have no means of knowing. During that year, he returned to England. Of course he went openly, and probably sailed from Boston. A part of his family followed him; but his son John remained in Springfield, and became the most important man in the colony, succeeding to his father's influence and authority. Thus it appears that, notwithstanding the

¹ Holland's History, Vol. i. 38. Art. on Pynchon in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Oct., 1859.

² *Mass. Records*, Vol. iii. 257.

vigorous terms employed by the General Court in October, 1650, proposing "(God willing) to proceed with" Mr. Pynchon "according to his demerits, unless he retracts his heresies," he yet remained within their jurisdiction for about two years, and in that time appeared before them only once, although summoned three times, and in the end chose his own time for leaving the colony, and retiring, with his princely fortune, to his estate in England.

It deserves to be mentioned as a part of the history of the times, that Sir Henry Vane wrote to the magistrates, complaining of the course they had taken, and was answered in a joint letter by nine of them.¹ A letter was also written by certain men of influence in England to the ministers of Boston, and others, urging them to set a favorable construction upon the tenets set forth in Mr. Pynchon's book "as disputable, and to some of note probable"; and requesting the ministers to "intercede with the Magistrates to deal favorably with him, as a gentleman pious and deserving."² To this letter a reply was made, signed by John Cotton, Richard Mather, and three others, which explained the occasion of the promptness of the court in its first action, and stated that the court was disposed to deal favorably with the author of the book, appointing three, all friends and acquaintances, such as himself chose, to confer with him, and finding him yielding in some main point, which he willingly expressed under his own hand, the court readily accepted the same.³

¹ *Palfrey's New England*, Vol. ii. 396.

² Appendix to Norton's Answer to Pynchon.

³ The following is on the first page of John Eliot's record of church members, Roxbury, Mass.:—

"M^r William Pynchon: he was chosen an Assistant, yearely so long as he lived among us: his wife dyed soone after he landed at N. Eng: he brought 4 children to N. E. Ann, Mary, John, Margaret. After some years he married M^{rs} Francis Samford, a grave matron of the church at Dorchester. When so many removed frō these parts to Plant Conecicot riv^r he also wth othr company went thit^r & planted at a place called Agawam, & was recomended to the church at windsor on Coneciticott, vntill such time as it should please God to pvide y^t they might enter into church estate among themselves. his daughter Ann: was married to M^r Smith, sone to M^{rs} Samford by a former husband he was a Godly, wise young man, & removed to Agawam wth his parents. His daughter mary was married to M^r Hollioike, the sone of M^r Hollioike of Linn; M^r Pynchons ancient freind.

Afterwards he wrote a Dialogue concerning Justification, w^{ch} was printed anno 1650, stiled the meritorious price, a book full of error & weaken^s, & some heresies w^{ch} the Generall Court of ye Massachusetts Condemned to be burnt, & appointed M^r John Norton then Teacher at Ipswich to confute ye errors contained therein."

On arriving in England, Mr. Pynchon settled in Wraysbury, on the Thames, in Buckinghamshire. This place is in the very heart of England, about three miles below Windsor Castle, and directly opposite Magna Charta Island and Runnymede. Horton, where Milton at one time lived, is an adjoining town. He found himself under the Puritan Commonwealth, in England, which must have been agreeable to one of his political and religious opinions. In the enjoyment of an ample fortune, surrounded by many friends of his earlier life, with abundant leisure, Mr. Pynchon appears to have given the ten remaining years of his life to study and writing. The man who had helped in gathering two Congregational churches in New England, returned to the Church of England, and was buried in the ancient churchyard, under the shadow of one of the most beautiful of the rural churches of Old England.¹

The year of his arrival in England he published:—

“The Jews’ Synagogue, a Treatise concerning the Worship used by the Jews. Quarto. London, 1652. John Bellamie.”

Two years later, he published two treatises on the Sabbath:—

“The Time when the First Sabbath was ordained. By William Pynchorr, Esq. Published by authority. London: Printed by R. G., and to be sold by T. N., at the Three Lions in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1654.”

“Holy Time: or the True Limits of the Lord’s Day. By William Pynchon, Esq. Published by authority. Printed at London, by R. G., and are to be sold by T. N., at the sign of the Three Lions in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange. 1654.”

Mr. Norton’s answer to Mr. Pynchon’s first book was not published till 1653. Two years later, Mr. Pynchon published a rejoinder of which the following is the title:—

“The Meritorious Price of Man’s Redemption; or Christ’s Satisfaction Discussed and Explained. By William Pynchon, late of New England. 1655. Thomas Newbury, London, 1655.”

¹ In 1886, I visited Wraysbury. The railroad station is a small and very modest one, not far from the Thames, and about twenty miles from London. The scenery has been compared to that of the Connecticut valley. There is perhaps a suggestion of that valley, and of the hills on the west, but the Thames at that point is much smaller than the Connecticut. In that quiet retreat, environed by the scenes most memorable in the history of English liberty, this great Puritan found the repose which was denied him in Massachusetts.

It is dedicated to Oliver St. John, the author esteeming him "an able Judge, not only in those controversies that concern the common laws of the land, but also in divine controversies."

This is a quarto of four hundred and forty pages, and is by far the most elaborate of Mr. Pynchon's works. In this he uses the "altar terms," as they have been called, and seems to recognize the side of truth to which he referred in his letter to the General Court; namely, that in some way "the sufferings of Christ" "were appointed" as "the due punishment of our sins, by way of satisfaction of divine justice." He controverts again, with great ability, the doctrine that our Lord suffered the vindictive wrath of God and the torments of hell.

A copy of this book is in the library of Harvard University.

His last book was entitled: "The Covenant of Nature made with Adam Described, etc., and Cleared from Sundry Great Mistakes." In this volume the address to the reader is dated: "From my Study, Wraysbury, Feb. 10, 1661."

Mr. Pynchon died at Wraysbury some time in October, 1662, aged seventy-two years.

He was twice married. No record that I have seen gives the date of the first marriage, or the name of his wife. She came with him to New England, and died in Roxbury during the first year, perhaps in consequence of the hardships of the life in the new country. The children of this marriage were:—

John, born 1621;

Annie, who married Henry Smith;

Margaret, who married William Davis, of Boston;

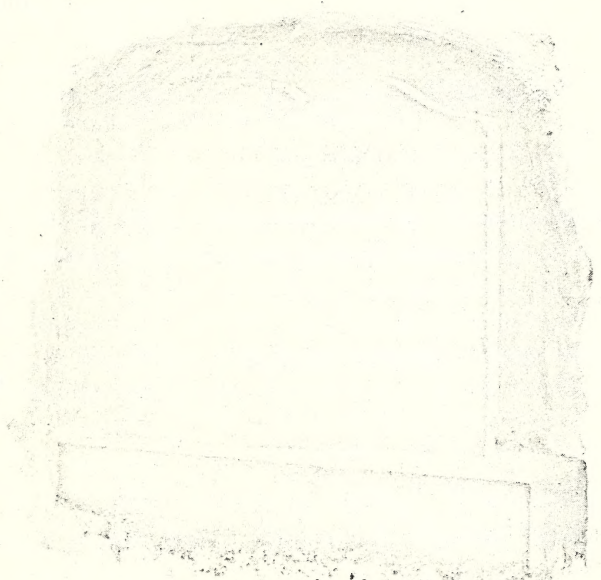
Mary, who married Elizur Holyoke;

And a son, who was drowned in the Connecticut River.¹

After the death of his wife, Mr. Pynchon married Mrs. Frances Samford, "a grave matron of the church at Dorchester," as the Roxbury church records say, but they do not give the date of the marriage. Mrs. Pynchon died at Wraysbury, October 10, 1657.

There is a striking portrait of Mr. Pynchon in the possession of the Essex Historical Society of Salem. It was painted in England,

¹ "Mr. Pynchon lately lost a boy, who tending cows near our river, too venturously went into a birchen canowe, which overturned, and he was drowned." [Mr. Moxon's letter to Governor Winthrop about 1638.]—*Conn. Valley*, Vol. i. 40.



THE MARY HOLYOKE STONE

and sent by him to his son John. The frontispiece of Vol. I., "Connecticut Valley Historical Society Papers and Proceedings," is taken from that painting. With his long, closely-fitting coat and small clothes, the broad collar or band of linen lying flat upon his shoulders, and a closely-fitting silk cap upon his head, he was the impersonation of quiet dignity, and patriarchal grace. His seal ring, with his arms, is still in existence, in the possession of a descendant at the South.

JUNE 10, 1889. Adjourned meeting. Committee on nomination of officers reported, and the following were elected:

Vice-Presidents: Hon. GEORGE D. ROBINSON, Chicopee; Hon. E. B. GILLET, Westfield; Hon. W. B. C. PEARSONS, Holyoke; Rev. Dr. L. C. SEELYE, Northampton; Rev. Dr. GEO. M. STEELE, Wilbraham; Hon. LEVI STOCKBRIDGE, Amherst; S. O. LAMB, Greenfield; Hon. C. L. GARDNER, Palmer; Rev. J. W. HARDING, Longmeadow; Wm. N. FLYNT, Monson; R. O. DWIGHT, South Hadley; H. F. BROWN, Brimfield; H. S. SHELDON, Suffield, Conn.

Clerk, EDWARD MORRIS.

Treasurer, CHARLES MARSH.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Executive Committee: JAMES KIRKHAM, CLARK W. BRYAN, E. S. BRADFORD, HENRY S. LEE, A. M. COPELAND, E. B. MAYNARD.

JUNE 18, 1889. Adjourned meeting. Voted to lease rooms in Kirkham & Olmsted block, State street.

JUNE 25, 1889. Adjourned meeting. Voted to procure furniture for new rooms.

JULY 2, 1889. Adjourned meeting. First meeting of the Society in new rooms, Kirkham & Olmsted block. New members elected.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1889. Quarterly meeting. New members elected.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1889. Special meeting. Report of committee on furnishing rooms read by W. F. ADAMS, and on motion of E. W. BOND it was accepted and the committee discharged from further service. Rev. Dr. BUCKINGHAM read a paper, *History of a Characteristic New England Town.*

OCTOBER 21, 1889. Special meeting. Committee authorized to furnish cases, etc., for new rooms. Committee authorized to sublet rooms. Treasurer authorized to procure proper insurance on the property of the Society.

NOVEMBER 4, 1889. Adjourned meeting. Judge A. M. COPELAND read the following paper:

History of Township Number Nine, formerly called
Murrayfield, more lately Chester

IN accordance with a custom adopted by our ancestors when they first came to America, a great portion of the lands of Massachusetts Bay were originally granted in townships to a certain number of proprietors, as grantees in fee, to hold as tenants in common.

Much of the unappropriated province land was laid out into townships, or plantations, as they were sometimes called, and numbered. In 1762 the General Court of the province ordered ten of these townships to be sold, and on the 17th of February of that year a committee was appointed to make the sales in the name of the province. In pursuance of this order Township No. 9 was sold by public auction at Boston, June 2, 1762, to William Williams of Hatfield, for £1500. For some reason, which does not appear, he relinquished the purchase to the following persons: John Chandler, Esq., and Timothy Paine, Esq., both of Worcester, John Murray, Esq., of Rutland, and Abijah Willard, Esq., of Lancaster, all in the County of Worcester. These individuals became proprietors of this township as tenants in common. In June, 1763, Chandler, Murray, and Paine, with the approval of the General Court, sold to James Otis of Barnstable one-fifth of their undivided three-fourths of the township. James Otis gave John Murray a power of attorney to act for him in all things pertaining to his interests in Township No. 9. It does not appear that Otis was ever personally present at any of the proprietors' meetings.

It is erroneously stated in the "Connecticut Valley History," published in 1870, that these purchasers—who were commonly called

the original proprietors—settled in that part of the township which lies between “the middle and east branches of the Agawam River.” It is true that they divided nearly all that part of the town which lies between the middle and east branches of the Westfield River into lots, and that they distributed the lots among themselves so that each should hold his interest separate from the others, but they never resided in this township. After the incorporation of the town their lands were taxed to them always as non-residents. They were men of some prominence in the County of Worcester, and had more or less influence in the affairs of the colony. They occupied positions of public trust, both civil and military; they were at some time members of the General Court, and took a more than ordinary interest in the growth and prosperity of the colony. At the time of the purchase they did not receive from the government any instrument conveying to them an absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in this township, but their title was in some way conditional, as appears by the representations in a petition made by them to the General Court in May, 1766, stating that the conditions of the settlement were almost complied with, excepting settling a minister, which they promised to do at an early date. They particularly represented their inability to give satisfactory titles to the lots sold by them to the settlers, because of the insufficiency of their own title, and they prayed that their title to the township be confirmed to them. The petition was acted upon June 11, 1766, and by an act of the General Court their petition was granted, and the title confirmed to the proprietors, in the proportions agreed among themselves.

Township No. 9 was bounded on the north by New Hingham, now Chesterfield, and by Township No. 3, now Worthington; on the west by Township No. 4, now Becket; on the south by Blandford and, in part, by Westfield; and on the east by Southampton and Northampton. It contained about 24,700 acres of land, exclusive of the following named grants previously made to other persons, to wit: 250 acres to John Bolton; 2,000 acres to Green and Walker; 700 acres to the heirs of Rev. John Williams, whose name is identified with the early history of Deerfield, and is familiar to every boy and girl who has read of the French and Indian Wars. There was also a grant to

David Ingersole of Westfield, comprising 4,800 acres, and located in the southeast part of the township. This last tract of land was laid out in the form of an irregular heptagon. Its southeast corner, an angle of about 46° , was located a little southerly from the present center of Montgomery, in what is called Moose Meadow. This was also the southeast corner of Township No. 9. It was also the southwest corner of the original township of Northampton. The east line of the Ingersole grant, which was also the west line of Northampton—afterwards Southampton—extended north 5° east about three and three-quarter miles; the north line extended from the northeast corner of the grant about two and three-quarter miles, its course being a little north of west; the westerly line from the northwest corner of the grant to its southwesterly corner was about three miles in length; from this corner it ran east 20° south 227 rods to Rock House Corner; thence south about 49° east 1,015 rods to the southeast corner, the last course running on Westfield line.

This grant was made to David Ingersole June 5, 1738. The General Court had proposed to locate the Stockbridge Indians on a tract of land in Housatonic above Monument Mountain, and for that purpose bought up the interests in that land by giving the different owners of it an equivalent of lands in the unappropriated parts of the province. Ingersole owned twenty-four hundred (2,400) acres of land above Monument Mountain which he exchanged with the government for the 4,800 acres above described. Joseph Green and Isaac Walker of Boston, traders, also owned a tract of land above Monument Mountain, and they were given as an equivalent 10,500 acres consisting of several tracts of land variously located, which were all conveyed to them by one instrument dated January 21, 1743. Of these tracts there was one of 2,000 acres in the County of Hampshire, west of Northampton, which answers to the grant in question.

The form of Williams' grant was an oblong rectangular figure having its length north and south, and was bounded on the north by Green and Walker grant, the east line of which and the east line of Williams' grant formed one continuous straight line; it was bounded west by Green and Walker grant, the south line of which and the south line of Williams' grant were in one and the same straight line.

These two grants taken together formed one large parallelogram, with its length north and south. Its southwest corner touched the northerly line of the Ingersole grant; its north line crossed Norwich Pond; its west line was along the east branch of Westfield River, a part of the river being included within the grant; and its east line was parallel with and 130 rods west of the west line of Northampton.

The form of Bolton grant was a square bounded south by Blandford and east by Ingersole grant. John Bolton, the proprietor of this grant, never was assessed as an inhabitant of Murrayfield, although it is probable that he resided in the immediate vicinity of his 250-acre farm. His dwelling was located, probably, on the north side of the West Branch, but just over the line in Blandford. The large part of Chester Village—now called Huntington Village—was within the limits of the Bolton grant; and there was a fordway across the West Branch just below the present bridge. All these grants were included within the limits of Township No. 9.

Out of this township were carved the whole of Chester, the whole of Norwich, a part of Middlefield, and about half of Montgomery. Within the township were three streams of considerable size, called the East Branch, the Middle Branch and the West Branch. The general course of the East Branch is south through the eastern part of the township, and it was some times called the Main Branch, or Main River, and properly so called; for it was larger and longer than the other streams. No part of East Branch is within the limits of Chester; but so much of it as runs within the bounds of the original township, is wholly east of the west line of the town of Norwich—now called Huntington. The Middle Branch flows through the town of Chester in a southeasterly direction and empties into the East Branch a few rods east of the west line of Ingersole grant and about two miles northerly from the West Branch. The West Branch flows through the southwestern and south part of the township, for a considerable distance in a southeasterly and then in an easterly direction, and joins the East Branch a few rods southerly of Ingersole grant, about half a mile below where the bridge now stands in Huntington Village. From this point the stream is called Westfield River. This vicinity was known by the name of "Westfield River Branches"

before it was known as No. 9; and it was sometimes known by that name after it was called Murrayfield.

The geological formation of this township is principally mica slate; and, for the most part, the strata stand nearly perpendicular, and the strike is about north and south. There is, however, a singular exception in the southeasterly part of the township, in which the mica slate dips towards the north at an angle not less than 75° , with the strike running easterly and westerly, and representing in some places ragged cliffs looking toward the south.

The formation here is a part of the Appalachian system, the characteristic folding of which may be observed to great advantage. Professor Dana says that "some of the Appalachian folds were probably 20,000 feet in height above the present level of the ocean, or would have had this height if they had remained unbroken, while in fact the loftiest summits are less than 5,000 feet, and few exceed 3,000 feet." It is probable that the original height of this mountain chain, in the region we are now speaking of, was several thousand feet higher than at the present time.

Down through this formation the three streams of which I have spoken, cut their channels; deep canyons they must have been, not unlike those now seen west of the Rocky Mountains. But the erosion that has been going on slowly, steadily and constantly during periods of time too great for the human mind to comprehend, and the grinding and tearing and wearing during the ice periods when this whole region was covered with a moving mass of ice hundreds of feet in thickness, have worn down those lofty folds until the present height and the present outlines were reached; and the surface left covered to a great depth with drift. Numerous brooks, too, cut their channels, which the scooping and wearing by the agencies before referred to have modified to their present configurations. To these agencies we owe the varied and pleasing landscape which now greets the eye on every hand throughout this picturesque region. These remains of the old canyons were worn wider in the vicinity of brooks that enter them from the hillsides; and at these places the glens and dales which succeeded the canyons have been broadened out into somewhat spacious valleys. All along these dales and valleys are alluvial lands,

easily cultivated, called by the early settlers "interval land," and are still known by that name. These interval lands are much in demand because of their fertility and ease of cultivation.

The first settlers found an abundance of valuable forest trees, such as maple, beech, birch, ash, chestnut, hickory, butternut, wild cherry, elm, willow, oak, button ball, poplar, hemlock, pine, and other kinds of trees and shrubs. They also found an abundance of game in the forests and fish in the streams. They found an undesirable number of wolves, wild cats and rattlesnakes. Occasionally a panther was seen.

One hundred and twenty-six years had passed since the settlement of Springfield began; and Springfield was one of the older towns in the province; and so was Deerfield, and so was Northampton, and so was Hadley, and so was Westfield. In 1762 settlements had been established for several years in various parts of the County of Berkshire, and highways had been laid out connecting them with the towns on the Connecticut River. Blandford had been incorporated, and Chesterfield was incorporated that very year.

As originally established Hampshire County comprised all the territory of the province of Massachusetts Bay lying west of the County of Worcester; but it was divided by an act of the General Court, and the County of Berkshire established April 21, 1761. By another act approved the same day the township which had been known by the name of Pontoosic was incorporated and named Pittsfield. In 1741 the township called Glasgow, of Suffield's Equivalent Lands, was incorporated and named Blandford. January 6, 1753, the second precinct of Northampton was formed into a separate district and named Southampton. Such was the condition of the country in the immediate surroundings of Township No. 9, on the 2d of June, 1762.

Judging from some acts passed by the General Court of the province about this time, and also from other facts, it is evident that many persons had purchased lands of the Indians in various places in the western part of the province, and settled upon them in violation of the laws of the colony. In 1760 the General Court passed an act empowering Benjamin Pratt, John Worthington, and Joseph

Hawley, Esqrs., to look up such cases and prosecute the offenders. They were also directed to "enter, in the name of the province, into any and all unappropriated lands of the province west of the Connecticut River, and to execute leases of any land or lands, as they might judge proper, to any person or persons." The original proprietors of Township No. 9 found nineteen settlers already upon lands within their purchase; but whether they were there unlawfully, or under leases authorized by law, does not appear. Whatever was their title, or claim of title, the proprietors did not think it wise to disturb them. Their names were David Bolton, James Bolton, James Clark, Abraham Fleming, Zebulun Fuller, David Gilmore, John Gilmore, Thomas Kennedy, William Kennedy, Moses Hale, William Mann, Ebenezer Meacham, William Miller, Moses Moss, Israel Rose, David Scott, Ebenezer Webber, John Webber, and Jonathan Hart Webber. I give these names on the authority of five men who were appointed by the towns of Murrayfield, Norwich, and Westhampton to memorialize the General Court in 1779 respecting the building of a bridge over the East Branch, at the spot where Norwich bridge was afterwards built, and who, in the memorial, made this and other statements of facts under oath. The names of these witnesses were Stephen Lyman, Gideon Matthews and James Clark of Murrayfield, William Miller of Norwich, and John Smith of Westhampton. Clark, Smith and Miller were of the nineteen. The facts were within the personal knowledge of these persons, so there can be no reasonable doubt of the correctness of their statement.

The first meeting of the original proprietors was held January 5, 1763, at the house of William Lyman, innholder, in Northampton, pursuant to a warrant issued November 20, 1762, by Jonathan Dwight, Esq., a justice of the peace, and directed to Timothy Paine, one of the proprietors, ordering him to serve it "by advertising the same in the several Boston weekly newspapers forty days at least before said meeting agreeably to law." The first division of lots was surveyed and laid out during the months of October and November, 1762, by two surveyors named Edward Taylor and Charles Baker, each one surveying and laying out a separate section. They surveyed and laid out 119 lots, most of them being located west of a line which would

divide the township into two equal parts. With the exception of the lots on the Middle Branch and those in the extreme westerly and southerly parts of the township, the lots were in tiers ranging north 10° west. Most of them contained 100 acres each, with allowance for a road estimated as equivalent to two acres and 80 rods of land. Of these lots, No. 18, being centrally located and otherwise desirable for the purpose, was laid out as the minister lot. Within its bounds a smaller lot was laid out containing "eight acres for a meeting-house place, training field, and burying place." Within the limits of these eight acres there are now the present meeting-house in Chester Centre, a schoolhouse and a cemetery. The first meeting-house was erected in the year 1767 and stood a few rods southerly from the present one. It was 45 feet long by 40 feet wide, and faced the north. Besides the front door there was a smaller door on each side of the building about midway. The frame of this building was put up, boarded, shingled, the doors made, and the lower floor laid by the original proprietors; each of whom reserved for himself a "pew spot" on the lower floor. John Murray's was No. 1, at the right hand of the front door, and it was seven feet long and six feet wide. Timothy Paine's was No. 16, at the left of the front door, and it was seven feet long and six feet wide. John Chandler's was No. 14, at the right of the east door, and it was eight feet long and six feet wide. James Otis' was No. 5, at the right of the west door, and it was six feet square. Abijah Willard's was No. 3, at the left of the west door, and it was eight feet long and 6 feet wide. Several years intervened before the meeting-house was completed. Glass windows being expensive, and the town being poor, they were put in only one at a time from time to time as the town could afford the expense. In winter the windows were boarded up. Here also the town meetings were held. The town records show that occasionally a town meeting was held when the weather was too cold for the people to remain in the meeting-house, for we find the meeting is opened, a moderator chosen, and immediately it adjourns to a dwelling-house in the neighborhood, and then finishes its business. There was no practical difficulty in this, as the qualification to vote was limited to those who were rated at not less than £20. In extremely cold weather the religious

meetings also were held sometimes at private houses; for at that time there was no means of heating the church; if, indeed, it were then thought pious and lawful to allow a meeting-house to be in any way luxurious or even comfortable. Preaching on the Sabbath was sometimes held at private houses, and sometimes at a public inn.

Many years have passed since this spot was used as a training field. A new generation has grown up and passed middle life since the time when all the enrolled militiamen were required by law to provide themselves with arms and equipments and turn out for drill and inspection once or twice a year. During long years of uninterrupted peace so many people had come to regard this as an unnecessary burden, that it fell into disrepute, and the law was modified so as to accommodate this aversion to a duty which our fathers felt to be necessary to safety and good government. This tendency to shirk public duties which are attended with personal inconvenience has grown into a monstrous sin, and its consequences will surely be visited upon our children even to the third and fourth generation. They will reap the harvest of what we are today sowing, and some of it will be a harvest of bitterness. It would be well for us never to forget that the harvest of freedom and prosperity which it has been our fortune to reap, was the fruit of different political husbandry than that of today.

At one time two military companies were maintained contemporaneously within the present limits of Chester, and the popular regard for military honors, which prevailed in those days, is well attested by the frequent election to offices of honor and trust, both in town and in church, of men who rejoiced in the right to have prefixed to their names the titles Col., Capt., Lieut., Ensign, and Sergeant. To the older inhabitants many a sacred memory was associated with the old training field,—the scene of so many stirring events which varied the monotony of rural life. Upon the headstones in the adjoining cemetery you may read the names of men and women who were active in the events which transpired long years ago within these eight acres, and who were loved and honored in their day and generation. The church! the cemetery! the schoolhouse! the training field! What a wealth of memory gathers and centers here! This

was the place to which all the town folk flocked to do and to receive those things which men do and seek for the preservation of society, for the elevation of social life, for invoking manly fortitude, and also for consolation in the afflictions which are common to all.

At their first meeting the proprietors chose John Chandler moderator. Timothy Paine was chosen the proprietors' clerk, and John Murray their treasurer. The proprietors voted "That the settlers in said township be admitted upon conditions following, viz.: that each one within the space of three years commencing from the first of June last build a dwelling-house on their lot of the following dimensions, viz.: 24 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 7 feet studd, and have 7 acres of land well cleared and fenced and brought to English grass or plowed, and actually settle with family on the same and continue such family thereon for the space of six years, and shall also within three years from this time actually settle a Protestant minister of the Gospel there and pay one-sixth part of the charge thereof, and that each settler have 100 acres of land as an encouragement, and that they give bonds to the treasurer of said proprietors in the sum of fifty pounds conditioned to perform said conditions, and that upon their complying and performing said conditions the said lots be confirmed to them, and their heirs and assigns forever."

Upon these terms and conditions fifty-one settlers were admitted and drew lots as follows:

	LOT NO.		LOT NO.
DAVID BOLTON	2	WILLIAM KENNEDY	45
ASA NOBLE	4	GLASS CORCORAN	49
THOS. NOBLE, JR.	6	JOHN CROOKS	51
JOHN GILMORE	8	ABRAHAM FLEMING	53
JOHN WOODS	11	JAMES FAIRMAN	54
ALEXANDER GORDON	13	DAVID FLEMING	56
JOHN HANNUM	15	JOHN WEBBER	64
JOHN LYMAN	17	JOHN CRAWFORD	66
JOHN SCOTT, JR.	19	THOMAS KENNEDY	68
JOHN SMITH	21	ROBERT BLAIR	70
BENJA MATTHEWS	23	JAMES CLARK	71
JOHN LACCORE	25	ABSOLOM BLAIR	72
JOHN MCINTIRE	27	ISRAEL ROSE	75
DAVID SCOTT	32	JAMES FAIRMAN	80
EBENEZER WEBBER	33	ABNER SMITH	82
ELIAS LYMAN	35	DAVID GILMORE	84
LEVI WOODS	38	WILLIAM ENGLISH	86
GIDEON MATTHEWS	41	NATHAN MANN	87

	LOT NO.		LOT NO.
JOHN BOYES	90	WILLIAM MORSE	108
ANDREW ENGLISH	92	THOMAS MCINTIRE	110
WILLIAM MANN	94	NATHAN ROSE	112
JONATHAN HART WEBBER	98	PAUL KINGSTON	114
JAMES BROWN	100	JESSE JOHNSON	116
THOMAS MORTON	102	JOHN WOODS of Lancaster	43
SAMUEL ELLIS	104	JAMES BLACK	37
WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Jr.	106		

At this late day it is difficult, and in some instances it seems impossible, to find out where these settlers came from. Most of them were adventurers seeking cheap lands, and, with few exceptions, they were poor. The Boltons probably came from Blandford. The Nobles were Westfield men, and it is probable that they never established themselves as residents of the township; at any rate they failed to perform the conditions of settlement, and the proprietors repossessed themselves of their lots. Andrew English and William English and the Gilmores came from Pelham. Elias Lyman and John Lyman were residents of Northampton and never resided in Township No. 9. Two sons of Elias Lyman, namely, Stephen and Timothy, located upon the land drawn by their father. Stephen Lyman married Anna Blair of Weston, and it is easy to guess that Absolom Blair and Robert Blair were her relatives. John Boyes, John Woods, Levi Woods, and probably James Black, all came from Rutland, the residence of John Murray. John Wood came from Lancaster, Jesse Johnson and John Hannum came from Southampton. Abner Smith came from Northampton and appears to have been a man of some means. Gideon Matthews came from Torrington, Connecticut, and was a son of the Benjamin Matthews who drew lot No. 23. Benjamin Matthews never resided in the township. He afterwards moved from Torrington to Westfield. His daughter Eunice married Israel Rose, who came from Granville and located in the westerly part of Ingersole grant near Middle Branch, as early as 1760. Nathan Rose was a relative and probably came from Granville. John Smith came from the west part of Northampton, and is said to have been a man of tremendous muscular strength. His grandchildren say that he came from Northampton on foot to the highlands of Township No. 9, carrying on his back a five-pail iron kettle. This story is current among the older inhabitants of Chester and is generally

believed. His wife Abigail died in 1767, and the headstone at her grave in the cemetery on Chester Hill is the oldest in town. She died August 12, 1767, and on the 10th of the following November he married Abilene Cors. He was afterwards one of the leading men in the town and was a worthy and respected citizen. Beyond these names there is little hope of tracing the previous residence of the first settlers in Township No. 9, who drew lots in January, 1763.

Evidently it was the policy of the proprietors to scatter the settlers over that part of the township which they decided to settle first, and which they had laid out into the first division of lots, so as to secure the settlement and cultivation of lots in all the different parts of this division. The convenience of the settlers was not consulted. At this time settlements already had been begun upon the territory known by the name of Ingersole Grant. In many respects it was a more desirable location than that portion of the township which was granted to the proprietors. It was more accessible both to Westfield and the other more settled localities of this part of the province. Much of the land lay near the river, was comparatively level, and easily cultivated. Roads could be built more easily. The advantages of that part of the township which lies along the West Branch in the vicinity of what was afterward known as Chester Factories, were offset by its remoteness from such roads as at that time had been established leading to the more settled towns. The proprietors owned but little available land in the vicinity of Ingersole grant. To make a successful settlement of their lands they were obliged to select that part of the township which constituted the highlands, and which comprised a strip of territory about three or four miles wide lying immediately west of Middle Branch and extending from the south to the north lines of the township. While this served the purposes of the proprietors, it was in many respects unfortunate for the settlers, who were obliged to go to and from their homes as best they could; the distance from one point to another of the settlement being not only burdensome, but the way also was difficult. The proprietors neither laid out nor built any roads; they only made an allowance for roads by adding two acres and eighty rods to their one-hundred-acre lots. When the settlers came to the building of roads they found it was

impracticable to locate them where there would be the least grade or the shortest distance. Farm buildings already had been built and homes established where the proprietors had dictated. The people were too poor to abandon their homes and build anew; and so, of necessity, the roads were laid to accommodate the locations of the homes. The maintenance of their roads, as well as the original location of them, has ever been a burden upon the town, entailing the original disadvantage upon succeeding generations; so that the citizens of what is known as Chester Hill still find themselves at great disadvantage in this regard. Their most pressing need is good roads of easy grade. Such roads are possible even in this hilly town. It is obvious that the farms most difficult of access are the ones soonest abandoned. There are many good farms within the limits of the first division of lots in Township No. 9. Men have prospered, and despite many disadvantages, still do prosper upon these farms. The land is as strong in fertility as any in Massachusetts—stronger even than the boasted alluvial lands bordering the Connecticut River. Nearly all the valuable crops grown in Massachusetts can be successfully cultivated here. All the ordinary fruits of New England—even peaches and grapes—are grown abundantly here whenever the attempt is skilfully made. Doctor Hitchcock, in the report of his geological survey of Massachusetts, speaking of soils, says: "It is not necessary for our young men to go to distant regions in search of fertile soils. Patient industry will ensure such soils within their own borders."

The atmosphere upon these highlands is as pure and healthful as man breathes in any part of the world. Above the fogs, the dampness, the cutting frosts, or the sweltering heat of the lowlands bordering the rivers, the summers are delightful; and the winters, although possibly more subject to strong winds than among the lowlands, are more even, and are far less unwholesome than in the valleys, exposed as they are to sharp frosts and the chills attending the frequent thaws and the dampness which are inseparable from the lowlands. Why should not these highlands be more populous? What explanation is more forcible than the existence of so many break-neck roads, and the lack of roads of easy grade—the building of which no doubt is practicable?

The following memorial of the proprietors to the General Court gives some light upon the condition of the township in 1762:

"To his Excellency, Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Province of Massachusetts Bay, the Honorable, his Majesty, Council, and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled at Boston, 21st Dec., 1763.

The proprietors of a new township of land in the County of Hampshire, lying adjoining to Blandford, Westfield, Southampton, etc., sold by this province in June, 1762, now known by the name of Murrayfield, humbly show that they purchased said township of the government for the sum of fifteen hundred pounds lawful money. That immediately after their purchase they laid some part of it into lots and have expended great sums of money in order to bring forward the settlement. But they would humbly and truly represent the case of said township to your Excellency and Honors. Upon view of the same they found it a very uneven and mountainous place, divided into three parts by three very rapid, rocky rivers; the banks of which rivers are so steep and rocky that it is almost impossible to pass from one side of said rivers to the other. That about seven thousand five hundred acres in said township of the best of the land, and that which would have been settled soonest, was taken up in former grants, besides a large pond therein of the quantity of about five hundred acres, which is a great damage to said township. That before the purchase there were about nineteen settlements begun thereon, upon the best of the land, and as your petitioners were sensible that they had no power to turn them off, and if they had it would be attended with great trouble and charge, they were obliged to give them 100 acres of land each where they had begun to settle. That the only place your petitioners could find to lay the town plot out, was upon a very high mountain, which will make it always extremely difficult to get to it. That by reason of the great sums of money your petitioners must necessarily expend in making roads over mountains and necessary expensive bridges over said rapid rivers, and for other reasons in this petition mentioned, they humbly pray that they may have part of the consideration money remitted to them, or that your Excellency and Honors would make them a grant of a piece of province land near to or adjoining said township, or in any other place your Excellency and Honors shall see meet, either in the County of Hampshire or Berkshire, to enable them to make roads and bridges in said township. Your petitioners would further observe that the said township, by the great sums of money they have laid out, and encouragement they have given to settlers, having given one-quarter of said township of the best of the lands to the settlers, the said township is now the forwardest, and will be completely settled sooner than any township which was at that time sold by the government."

On the 3rd of February, 1764, the House of Representatives "ordered that 1,200 acres of the unappropriated lands of this province be granted to the petitioners, and that they present a plan thereof

to this court within twelve months from this time for their confirmation, which is in full consideration for the complaint made in the petition." April 26, 1764, the proprietors presented to the General Court the plan of a tract of land, a trapezoid in form, containing 1,200 acres; bounded east by No. 4 of the Narraganset grants, in the County of Hampshire, beginning "at a hemlock tree on the north side of Swift River, and runs northerly by said Grant to Narraganset proprietors, 500 rods to a maple tree; then running west 20° north 320 rods to a monument of stones; thence south 20° west 480 rods to a birch tree; thence running east 20° south straight to the corner first mentioned." It was bounded north by Hunt's town, now Ashfield, and west and south by province lands. When Goshen was incorporated this tract of land was included. Lands had been granted by the General Court of the province to the descendants of those who were in the Narraganset fight with the Indians. No. 4 of these grants lay within the present limits of Williamsburg and Conway. Afterwards additions were made to Grant No. 4, which included lands now within the present town of Goshen, which was incorporated May 14, 1781. This grant of 1,200 acres was set off from the town of Goshen, with other lands, and annexed to Cumington by an act of the General Court dated March 21, 1788. I am thus particular in fixing the location of this grant, because of the misleading statement in the "History of the Connecticut Valley," published in 1879, that it was located west of Murrayfield. Township No. 4, which was afterwards incorporated and named Becket, was, evidently, mistaken for No. 4 of the Narraganset grants.

There is no clear evidence that the original proprietors of Township No. 9 made any highways within its limits. It is certain that they never built any bridge over any one of the "three very rapid, rocky rivers" mentioned in their memorial. During the Revolutionary War Chandler, Murray and Willard left the country and went over to the enemy and were of those who were forbidden to return. As late as 1779 no bridge had been built across the East Branch. The facts concerning the conduct of the original proprietors in the matter of road and bridge building can best be told in the language of a memorial of the inhabitants of Murrayfield and Norwich to

the General Court, in January, 1779. After representing the absolute necessity for a bridge at the place where Norwich bridge was afterwards built, the petition sets forth:

"That in the year 1764 there was granted by the Hon. General Court of this state unto Timothy Paine, Esq., and others, the proprietors of Murrayfield, 1,200 acres of land adjoining to No. 5 for the extraordinary cost they, the said proprietors of Murrayfield, said they had been at in building bridges across said river and its branches and in making roads in Murrayfield, as was represented by them in a petition to the General Court, which is to be seen on record in the Secretary's office, which cost they, the said proprietors, were never at, neither did they ever build a bridge or were they at any cost in building one or in making roads either directly or indirectly; as there were no bridges ever built across said river or its branches in Norwich or Murrayfield; and as said petitioners did soon after they had got said town incorporated immediately raise the price of their lands to such an extravagant price, that hindered people from buying in said town, and as a number of the proprietors of said Murrayfield have for a number of years past gone off to the enemy, so that people who would have been glad to have purchased them farms in town could not buy because said proprietors could not be found, which has been a great hindrance to the town's settling; and the people that came first into town were many of them low and poor in the world and always have had a great many roads and of great length to make and maintain in a new and rough country, which in a great measure was occasioned by the proprietors fixing their settling lots in every part of the town, which necessarily made more roads in the town to be made and kept in repair, which has kept the people low and behindhand. Therefore we pray your Honors that some method may be devised that a bridge may be built across said river and its branches, either by said grant of land which the proprietors got granted them for services they never did, or out of their estates, or any other way your Honors in your wisdom shall see most fit."

Notice of this petition was ordered to be given to Timothy Paine, who appears to have remained loyal to his country. In support of this memorial the affidavit of Stephen Lyman, Gideon Matthews, James Clark of Murrayfield, John Smith of Westhampton, and William Miller of Norwich, was taken and laid before the General Court, in which, after reciting the names of the nineteen settlers whom the original proprietors found within Township No. 9, they say: "Seven of the above men were allowed to hold 100 acres where they had before begun to labor on the conditions of a bond as the other settlers were under. Six of the nineteen were allowed only to draw lots with the other settlers promiscuously. The other six were not allowed by said proprietors the privilege of drawing lots with the other settlers,

nor holding their lands by their being on before their purchase." The conditions of the bond are then recited, and then they add, "The settlers were under no obligations to do anything toward making roads or bridges, neither have said proprietors laid out any cost to make roads or bridges in said town since the settlement of the town. Only 31 of the 60 settlers have had lots given them by said proprietors. There is no pond in said township excepting the pond that is mostly in Green and Walker's grant. According to the best of our judgment the former grants are no better lands than the township is taken together."

Timothy Paine appeared and made a strong effort to defend the proprietors. In his answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Murrayfield and Norwich for a bridge over East Branch, he claimed that the proprietors had done their part in the matter of making roads and bridges, inasmuch as they had given, at the time they assigned lots to the settlers, the necessary land for highways; meaning the two acres and eighty rods over and above the one hundred acres, or whatever other number of acres the original lots contained. He also claimed that they had done their part inasmuch as they had paid taxes upon their own lands in the same proportion as the inhabitants paid upon theirs; and in greater proportion, he claimed, than the taxes paid by non-residents in other towns. But the General Court sided with the petitioners; and, by a vote of 31 to 19, passed an act, June 17, 1779, that the bridge be built at the expense of the original proprietors. The bridge was built and some of Mr. Paine's lands in Norwich and in Murrayfield were sold to pay the bill.

The second meeting of the proprietors was held September 29, 1763, at the house of Thomas Kennedy in Murrayfield, which stood on lot No. 68 of the first division of lots, on the then road, such as it was, from East Branch to the meeting-house place. This road went westerly from what is now known as Norwich Bridge, directly to the foot of Moose Hill; then bearing to the right of the present road by the house of Absalom Blair, the cellar of which still remains, it passed under the steeper part of the hill past the house of James Clark, the cellar of which is still to be seen; it then winds round under the high ridge of land northeasterly of the present road, by the remains of the

house and barn formerly known as the Riley place, through an open and somewhat level stretch of land, and then bearing to the left comes out onto the present highway, just easterly from the farm of the late Reuben L. Bromley. This old road for the most of the distance is now covered with grass; yet it can be easily traced the entire distance. By the side of this old road about midway of the open level strip of land above mentioned, stand three large elm trees. Within the shade of these elms stood the house of Thomas Kennedy, something over half a mile from Middle Branch. From a slightly elevated ridge near these elms a charming view opens to the eye. We are now standing above the southerly brow of the glen through which runs Middle Branch, and looking toward the north. Cattle are quietly grazing in the foreground which, sloping gently for a quarter of a mile or more, ends in the sharply outlined brink of the glen which cuts the opposite slope—the southwesterly side of Goss Hill—at about midway, leaving a view of only its upper half softened by the distance. Goss Hill stretches northerly from near the confluence of the Middle and East Branches, and also forms at this place the west side of the valley through which flows the East Branch, whose waters are concealed from our view by the trees along its banks, save a rift which the eye catches as they rush sparkling over their rocky bed at the foot of Goss Hill; and at the right of this the land rises toward the summit of Norwich Hill. And beyond all these—dimly outlined—are still higher lands, the whole forming one grand panorama, receding with deepening shades, until lost in the distant horizon. The delightful view from this spot is matched only by the delicious purity of the air.

It was here that the proprietors held their second meeting. Their journey was probably made on horseback, and at that season of the year when the gorgeously colored foliage is at its best, it must have been delightful beyond the power of language to describe. They voted "to draw the blank lots already laid out, so that each proprietor may enjoy his rights therein in severalty," and then they adjourned to October 1st. When they reassembled they proceeded to distribute among themselves sixty blank lots. Some of these lots they consented to exchange with settlers for lots drawn January 5,

1763. At this meeting the proprietors appointed Thomas Kennedy, John Crawford and Abraham Fleming "a committee to lay out and stake the highways, and make report thereof to the proprietors for their confirmation." Whether this committee ever made any report or not does not appear by any existing record. At this meeting, too, the question of establishing mills in the township was discussed, but no formal action taken. Subsequently John Chandler, it appears, built a sawmill on his own responsibility and at his own cost. The proprietors, at a meeting which they held December 12, 1764, voted that "Lot No. 13, originally drawn by Alexander Gordon and granted back to the proprietors, be granted to John Chandler, Esq., his heirs and assigns, in consideration of his having built a sawmill in said township." It was upon the west end of No. 13 of the first division of lots that this sawmill was built. This lot is situated 200 rods south from the meeting-house lot, and was owned for many years by the Searl family. A brook, sometimes called "Nooney Brook," and sometimes "Cook Brook," runs through the westerly end of this lot, and furnished the water power for Chandler's sawmill. This lot was known for many years as John Chandler's farm. In 1769 this farm was occupied by Robert Smith.

Of the roads laid out that year one is described as laid "From the meeting-house to Col. Chandler's farm where Robert Smith lives; from said Smith's to the sawmill," etc. In 1766 two sawmills had been built, and probably by Chandler. The proprietors, at a meeting held June 29, 1767, voted to grant to John Chandler lot No. 39 in the second division of lots, "in consideration of his extraordinary cost in building a sawmill in said town." This lot No. 39 was in the northwest corner of the township, and is now within the bounds of Middlefield. A sawmill is said to have been built by John Smith at an early date in the vicinity of John Chandler's mill. Very likely Smith built Chandler's mill.

As early as 1765 a gristmill had been built on the northeast, or left, bank of the Middle Branch, near the spot where the tannery stood at Littleville. This was the first gristmill built in the township, and it was built by Jonathan Clapp of Northampton, who received from the proprietors a deed of the lot upon which it stood, together

with the water privilege. It appears that Clapp executed a bond to the proprietors, in which his obligations touching the building of the mill were definitely stated. Some difference arose between him and the proprietors as to whether or not he had fully performed the conditions of his bond. The proprietors brought a suit against him for non-performance of the conditions of the bond, which suit was entered in the Court of Common Pleas at the May term, 1767, in the County of Worcester. The suit was finally submitted to referees, and, at a meeting which was held by the proprietors in the autumn of 1767, they appointed Abijah Willard "to attend, on behalf of the proprietors, upon the reference between the proprietors and Mr. Jonathan Clapp, relating to the corn-mill in Murrayfield." This mill was erected upon lot "A," lying on the left bank of Middle Branch, containing about 100 acres, and the proprietors named it the "Mill lot." On the 30th of October, 1765, Jonathan Clapp, describing himself as of Northampton, gave a deed of this property to Jonathan Wait of Murrayfield, in which the property is described as "Bounded westerly on the Middle Branch of Westfield River, so called; southerly on Timothy Smith's land; easterly on land belonging to the original proprietors of said Murrayfield; northerly on the minister lot, or lands of the original proprietors, together with the gristmill, dam, and other appurtenances to said mill, standing on said Middle Branch contiguous, on, or adjoining the said tract." This describes the whole of lot "A," and it was bounded southerly by Timothy Smith's five-hundred-acre farm. The highway at first was on that side of the river, being legally laid out in 1769, and described as "beginning at Worthington line, thence southerly by Mr. Wait's mill, east side of the Middle Branch, by Timothy Smith's," etc.

Timothy Smith came from Wallingford, in the State of Connecticut, and, October 5, 1763, received from the original proprietors a deed of 500 acres of land on the left bank of Middle Branch, near its junction with East Branch, for the price of £225. On the 10th of October, 1763, William Miller received from the proprietors a deed of 100 acres of land on the west side of East Branch, well toward the north part of the township, and just northerly from the north line of Green and Walker grant. It lay between the river and a large brook afterwards known as Miller's Brook.

The original proprietors continued to divide up the land into lots and distribute them among themselves according to their respective shares in the whole, until their interests were held no longer in common. They made in all four divisions: the first has already been described; the second comprised all the land owned by them easterly of Middle Branch, except the lands conveyed to Smith and to Miller, and it also comprised land in the west part of the town northerly of West Branch and westerly of the first division; the third and fourth divisions were limited mostly to land southerly of West Branch and one small tract on the north side of the river.

In June, 1764, the proprietors took action with reference to the settlement of a minister of the Gospel, as appears from the following record of the council: "June 2, 1764. A petition of the proprietors of Murrayfield, praying that the settlers admitted therein from time to time be empowered to call meetings to agree upon some proper method to settle the Gospel Ministry among them, and to transact any other business that may be necessary."

It is not probable that any of the first houses built by the settlers now remain. There are people living who saw some of these houses and remember how they were constructed. Many of the old cellars remain to mark the spots where the first homes were established. The cellar extended under only a part of the house. The cellar walls and the foundation stones of the houses were laid without mortar, of rough stones which were not always quite suitable for the purpose. Around many of these old cellar places lilacs and rosebushes grow and bloom, fragrant mementos planted by female hands, as tokens of their love for the beautiful, and emblematic of the refinement and the pious influence of mothers and sisters whose loving care and sympathy shed a holy fragrance in those old homes, the sweetness of which, even today, far and near, permeates many a home of their descendants.

These houses, as we already have seen, were 24 feet long, 18 feet wide, and seven feet studd. The sills were but a few inches above the ground. In the fall, just before winter began, these houses were banked high with earth to keep out the wind and frost of winter. A large stone chimney was built up through the center of the house,

with a spacious fireplace in each of the principal rooms. The fireplaces were the only means of heating the house, and little comfort would they have afforded but for the aid of screens and settles. The windows were small and not always furnished with glass. The doors were large and heavy and fastened with large wooden latches which were operated from the outside by a string, called "the latchstring," passing through a hole in the door, just above the latch. The door was secured at night by drawing in the string. The phrase, "The latchstring is out," was an invitation to come, with an assurance of welcome. We of today would regard tallow candles as anything but a luxury; yet, to these early settlers, even tallow candles were a luxury. What had they to make candles of at their first settlement? A lighted pine knot served them for a torch to go about with at night. But the bright fires in their ample fireplaces, supplied liberally from their abundance of wood, lighted up their apartments far more cheerfully than are the modern rural homes of our day. The preservation of the household fire was a matter of great concern. To lose it involved a journey to the nearest neighbor to borrow live coals. The nearest neighbor was often at quite a distance—half a mile or more. The tinder box was not always available.

Whatever of furniture and other articles for domestic use were at their command must have been rude enough. Of clocks perhaps they had none; at any rate they were in but few houses. People unused to timepieces learn to judge of the hour of day quite accurately, without being able to explain very clearly how they do it. The noon hour was determined by a noon mark cut upon the doorsill, or upon the window-sill, serving in fair weather like a dial to inform the housewife when to sound the dinner signal. The poverty of these people in 1763 may be judged from the condition of things twenty years later; for even then some of the people were obliged to make wooden troughs from the trunks of trees because of their inability to procure pails and pans for dairy purposes; and a large iron spoon would serve for a skimmer and for a paddle to work butter with.

No records—certainly none that were preserved—were kept on behalf of the settlers from 1762 to 1766. The affairs of the proprietors were carefully recorded; but of the daily life of the inhabitants

of Township No. 9, we catch only now and then glimpses unaided by any written evidence. We find proof of who they were, where they lived, and what kind of houses they lived in; but how they lived and what they did we do not know from any written record. We know where some of the new settlers came from: Samuel Webb came from the eastern part of the province and settled within the limits of Ingersole grant. Ebenezer King and Nathaniel Weller both came from Westfield. Isaac Mixer came from Suffield. But these people had nothing to do with the original proprietors. Malcom Henry came from Oakham early in 1763, and in April, 1764, bought lot No. 11 of John Woods of Rutland, who, probably, never settled in Township No. 9 at all. Henry built a house and kept an inn, which was located a short distance southeasterly from the meeting-house lot, and just southerly from the road leading to Littleville. It is probable that John Boise, Levi Woods, John Wood, Glass Corcoran, John Crooks, Asa Noble, Thomas Noble, John Lyman and Elias Lyman never, any of them, actually settled in this township. Isaac Mixer settled and established an inn on the east bank of East Branch, just above its confluence with Middle Branch. He bought two tracts of land of Nathaniel Weller. The first was purchased April 28, 1762. The following entry appears in the records of the Court of General Sessions in 1764: "Isaac Mixer of a place called 'Westfield River Branches,' or No. 9, is licensed as an innholder, retailer and common victualer." His second purchase was June 4, 1765, of about 150 acres lying just south of the first purchase, and the deed mentions a house, barn, and sawmill as located upon it.

A highway from Westfield crossed the Westfield River at a fordway near Rock House Mountain, just below the confluence of the East and West Branches of the river, and the old road can now be traced up the north bank of the river and across the railroad. This road continued up the East Branch on the east bank past Isaac Mixer's to a fordway a short distance above Knighville, and crossing the river it continued on to Chesterfield, where it connected with the highway laid out in 1760 from Hatfield to Pontoosic—now Pittsfield. This road was the avenue of communication with Westfield for Isaac Mixer and his neighbors. The highway over Norwich Hill to Northampton was laid out several years later.

This is substantially the history of Township No. 9, so far as it can be traced out at this late day. The people who personally knew the facts have passed away and left no records other than those kept by officials who had no personal interest in the affairs of the township or of the people. Down to October 31, 1765, the date of the incorporation of the township under the name of Murrayfield, there was no local government, no town officers, nothing to hold the people together or regulate their intercourse with each other except their loyalty to law and order. The settlers who had purchased of the proprietors were to some extent under their supervision, but this was not the case with the settlers upon Ingersole grant, nor of the few who bought their lands of the proprietors and paid a money consideration. But these people were of Puritan stock; they were British subjects; they had been educated to respect law and order and religion; they respected whatever was right, and despised whatever was wrong. They were of the people who could govern themselves, and who knew how to establish a republic. They had sense enough to respect the rights of others, and the requisite courage to maintain their own. But they were not formally organized; and so there were no records of their affairs as a community. No records of births, deaths, or marriages within Township No. 9, were ever made until Dr. David Shepard was elected town clerk of Murrayfield in the year 1771. He evidently gathered such facts as he could and made records of the following births which took place prior to the incorporation of Murrayfield:

John Scott Clark, son to James and Sarah Clark, was born April 1, 1762; and another son, Royal Clark, was born to them Nov. 21, 1763.

Mary Henry, daughter to Malcom and Dolly Henry, was born July 5, 1763; and another daughter, Isabel Henry, was born April 12, 1765.

Eunice Smith, daughter to John and Abigail Smith, was born March 2, 1765.

Mary Meacham, daughter to Ebenezer and Rachel Meacham, was born May 28, 1764.

Jonathan Proctor, son to Robert and Ruth Proctor, was born Oct. 1, 1765.

William Scott, son to David and Mary Scott, was born Oct. 22, 1764.

Oliver McIntire, son to John and Anna McIntire, was born March 3, 1765. This birth took place in Pelham.

Esther Matthews, daughter to Gideon and Esther Matthews, was born Oct. 5, 1763.

Samuel Ellis, son to Samuel and Salla Ellis, was born Feb. 11, 1765.

Sarah Mann, daughter to Nathan and Jane Mann, was born Nov. 12, 1764.

There were also recorded the births of Timothy Smith, May 25, 1762, and of Eben Blakerly Smith, September 20, 1762, sons to Thomas and Submit Smith, but these children were born in Wallingford, Connecticut. There was also a son named John born to Samuel and Salla Ellis, June 9, 1763, but this birth took place in Dedham. Also a son, Joseph, was born to Eunice and Israel Rose, June 1, 1760, but this birth took place in Granville.

There are no records of any marriages, nor of any deaths within Township No. 9, which took place prior to October 31, 1765, nor is there any evidence from which such records could be made.

With the incorporation of the town of Murrayfield ends the history of Township No. 9. This change was made by an act of the General Court passed October 31, 1765.

DECEMBER 2, 1889. Quarterly meeting. Curio Committee appointed by President as follows—

Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF, A. H. KIRKHAM, W. F. ADAMS, CHAS. M. LEE, MRS. H. M. PHILLIPS, MRS. CHARLOTTE E. WARNER, MRS. JAMES E. RUSSELL, MRS. ADELAIDE S. CALKINS.

ALBERT H. KIRKHAM on behalf of MRS. T. L. HAYNES presented to the Society a crayon portrait of the late Thomas Blanchard, the inventor. A short sketch of Mr. Blanchard's life was read by MR. KIRKHAM.

APRIL 21, 1890. Special meeting. The following paper was read by ERNEST N. BAGG:

Leaves from the Records of an Old Parish

IT is hard to imagine any portion of our great country, however remote or thinly settled, wholly lacking in antiquities, or in some reverence for ancient things. It is certainly safe to affirm that in any New England community, large or small, the lover of the quaint and curious may find many things not only historically interesting in a general sense, but some very precious things having a distinct local significance and a direct bearing upon the beginnings of things in the particular locality.

Towns in the Connecticut Valley are especially replete with evidences of regard for things connected with former generations of men. It is not surprising that the western frontier of King Philip's earthly hunting grounds, the well-selected site of the worshipful Major William Pynchon's settlement, and the track of the fugitive regicides, Goffe and Whalley, when they fled from New Haven to Hadley, in 1664, should be historically rich, or that there are at this moment numbers of attics and crannies within forty miles of Springfield that are mines of wealth to the antiquarian.

There are many things which have not been unearthed, which are yet mouldering in forgotten nooks of old homesteads, and the "willing mind" is continually making interesting discoveries. There have recently risen many noteworthy instances of this in the experience

of the writer. The browned and ancient "pitch-pipe" used by one Thomas Stebbins in raising the tune in old-time church choirs and country singing schools,—the natural accompaniment of the bass viol, foot stove, and sounding-board; Parson Joseph Lathrop's pulpit hymn-book, containing his autograph and frequent annotations; and the venerable volume in which the records of the old first parish of West Springfield were written, the earliest legible date in which is December 12, 1704, which, a cherished relic in a certain West Springfield family, forms the subject of this sketch.

The book is certainly a venerable looking volume. It is about twelve inches long and eight inches wide, with a home-made binding of shrivelled golden brown sheepskin, fastened by four leathern thongs at the back, and in places worn through with use. Fortunately no model clipping and pressing and trimming and cleaning and pasting machines have reached out their grasping hands for this book; and the brown-edged, tattered and parchment-like leaves have an individuality about them which is all their own. The leaves have two kinds of watermarks, one set bearing the large letters "TI," and each alternating leaf representing a most improbable creature, resembling in some respects a lion rampant, and in others the Talmudist's idea of the Evil One, so that we may assume it was intended to represent "the devil going about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." The middle of the edge of each cover is pierced to accommodate a leathern string to tie the leaves together when not in use, and each is provided with two large pockets of thick paper, one containing curious memoranda.

The venerable book is the only existing record of early times in that locality. Nineteen pages at the back and four in front relate to the division of the land among the settlers of the town, mostly in the square, quaint handwriting of one "Sam'll Ely, Clerk for this Precinct." Most of the intervening leaves contain records of parish meetings from March 20, 1701, to March 28, 1786. This Samuel Ely—peace to his ashes—was but human, and, while at times concise and clear in his account of parish doings, had seasons when he wrote more carelessly and in a manner of expression "endless and circular," as Baxter would say. Perhaps he was a man of many moods, and

his work reflected his feelings. But as a whole his work is well done, and there is an added charm and quaintness about it all, the impress of the strong personality of the pioneer scribe whose autograph appears on many of the earlier pages of the volume.

The Plymouth Pilgrims had secured a permanent footing in the wilderness, and had opened an avenue of escape to an oppressed and liberty-loving people, as well as an opportunity for adventure and unknown commercial possibilities; and the new-world settlement, in spite of savage threatenings and unknowable dangers, spread first to Salem and Charlestown in 1628, then to Boston in 1630, to Windsor, Connecticut, in 1633, to Hartford and Wethersfield in 1635, and May 14, 1636, found a dozen or so pioneers settled on the banks of the Connecticut at Springfield. These settlers, beginning at the lone building in "Home Meadow Lot," now a part of Agawam, in time spread themselves up and down and across the "great river," to the present sites of Somers, Longmeadow, Suffield, Westfield, and other points,—the first of Springfield's daughters to leave the parental roof-tree being the little collection of settlers on "Chickopee plains," permanently settled in 1654 or 1655, which was the beginning of the town of West Springfield. It was not until May 27, 1696, that this infant settlement, having grown and "waxed strong in spirit," and without doubt "in favor with God and man," secured from the Great and General Court for His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay the privilege of settling a "learned and orthodox" minister, and becoming a distinct parish,—the principal reasons being, as they said, "their distance from the place of meeting for the publick Worship of God in Said Town, the difficulties and danger Attending the passing of Said River, besides many other inconveniences." The order of the court, copied into the book from the original in the full, round handwriting of one "Nathl Atchinson, clerk for the second parish in Springfield," sets forth at some length the desires of the settlers, "that they may Enjoy the Ordinances of Christ, and their Children may not be in danger of becoming heathens for want of Instruction," and includes the significant clause, "The River to be the dividing Line," "for so long a time as they shall continue to have and enjoy such a minister." Some grain of comfort can perhaps be found in this for the people

who are at the present moment opposed to the annexation of that thriving new ward to Springfield; for the people now "enjoy" at least three learned and orthodox ministers on that side of "the dividing line."

There were naturally many opponents to such a proposition as the division of the mother parish,—prominent among them being Lieut. Abel Wright of Springfield. Lieut. Abel Wright—what a tower of strength was the very name! He may have been right, but he certainly was not able to prevent the granting of the petition and the establishment of another independent church where the sway of one was formerly supreme.

Just what proceedings were taken to secure Rev. John Woodbridge, the first minister, are not here noted, and the only reference to the early part of his ministry is on page 7, where "A Copey of the agreement" with him is transcribed. This agreement, though very verbose, is perhaps as legible a piece of writing as appears in the book. It would seem that there was no definite understanding as to the salary of Mr. Woodbridge, from his settlement in 1698 to December 11, 1705; and it is determined that the sum from that time on shall be "eighty pounds in provisions, Perticularly wheat att four shillings ye bushel, Peas att four shillings ye bushel, Rie att three shillings, and indian corn att two shillings and six pence ye bushel, pork att 3 pence ye pound, and what any person shall doe with respect to bringing of wood for the fier. It is att every mans libertye to doe what he shall se cause, gratis, only the Comitye shall appoint a day yearly for what any person shall sé cause to doe of that nature for Mr. Woodbridge his greater convenience."

A rather severe contrast to the ministerial salary of today, yet nearer a fair remuneration than at first appears. Mr. Woodbridge received a house and home lot, with as much more land as he could possibly improve, and all the grass and other crops he could raise on the same, and unlimited help in harvesting and planting, raising of buildings and all the special happenings in the life of the average farmer. His needs were few and his necessary expenses small. Country produce was the currency that supplied most wants, and there was no danger of exhausting the supply. Superabundant

brotherly kindness took the place of pin-money, and old-fashioned hospitality made up for the lack of the annual vacation.

Two copies of the original list of names of those among whom the lands were divided, a copy of the grant of the Great and General Court to form a new parish out of Springfield on the west side of "the great river," forms of oaths for clerk and assessors, and other minutes of importance are recorded before the regular account of parish meetings begins. This can safely be called the oldest church or parish record now existing in the vicinity. The late Hon. Henry Morris, in his "History of the First Church in Springfield," says, "The earliest church record now in existence bears date January 1st, 1736, and the oldest parish record (properly so called) begins August 7th, 1734, after the death of Rev. Daniel Brewer." Earlier records in the mother parish were carefully kept for a time, and were afterward destroyed. That the new parish in West Springfield knew and appreciated the value of writing history appears from this entry at the top of page 9:

"It is Agreed (March ye 20th, 170 1-2) that ther bee A man yearly Chosen to Keepe a record of what orders shall be made Among us from time to time, and of such other things as are Nesesarey to be kept upon record.

And he to macke and keepe A List of all such Persons as attend such meetings, and Sam'l Ely is chosen to doe the said worcke for this yeare."

This was not written at the time, but three years later, as appears from another interesting note two pages farther on:

"Wher as the Acts and votes which have been made and acted In this precinct have been hither too Kept In loose Papers, and whear as I have ben choosen to the office of A clerk in this Precinct year by year from the 20th of March 170 1-2 until this time, and having Been Sworn to the discharge of the Said office I have hear faithfully Recorded all those votes which are hear Mentioned and Specified from the 20th March 170 1-2 above sd unto this Present day ye 12 December 1704. As Witness My Hand. Janury the 16th 170 4-5.

Samll Ely. Clerk."

He kept faithful records after this, and, if verbose and superfluous in the methods of expression at times, only erred on the safe side and set a good example to those who came after him.

In many ways does the sense of stern duty felt by the settlers show itself in these pages. Could anything be stronger than the language

of the parish vote in regard to the agreement with Rev. John Woodbridge in 1705, where they instructed the seven members of the committee "to Agree with him and Bring Things to A Conclusion, and what they did conclude of they would Stand by and Solemnly promise to Perform and Accomplish Accordingly"? No compromise or shifting of responsibility here! The letter of the law was clear and unmistakable, and the path of duty lay plainly in a literal interpretation of the same.

Probably the only mention in the whole volume of a minister's wife appears on page 20, where it is recorded that "In Novr 17-18 Joseph Ashly Brought a Receipt from Mrs. Woodbridge, (who was grand-daughter of John Eliot, the 'Apostle to Indians,') of the whole Sum Due to Mr. Woodbridge for the year 1717 which was the Sum of one hundred pounds." It is to be remembered that Mr. Woodbridge died in June, 1718, and that his widow simply received the full amount then due of her husband's salary, which had been made larger by degrees, both in proportion to the growing prosperity of the parishioners and the increasing demands upon the minister's time. A stray fragment of history connected with the Woodbridge family may with propriety be mentioned here. The Woodbridge family was especially noteworthy for the number of ministers it contained, and of the male line this seems almost to have been separated for divine service like the sons of Levi. The Rev. John of West Springfield was the fourth Rev. John in the family, the others being his father, Rev. John Woodbridge of Killingworth and Wethersfield, Connecticut, his grandfather, Rev. John Woodbridge of Andover, Massachusetts, 1645, and his great grandfather, Rev. John Woodbridge of Wiltshire, England, who was ejected on account of so-called heretical notions, and who died at Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1695. A brother of the West Springfield pastor, Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge, was pastor of the old church in Groton, Connecticut, at the close of the seventeenth century; and of his grandson, Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge, of a church in New London, Connecticut, a romantic incident is related. When newly settled, he married a daughter of Captain Shaw, who built a house for the young couple on the Shapley estate, Main street, New London, now occupied by William D. Pratt

of that town. They did not undertake a wedding tour (few, if any, of the colonists indulged in such unnecessary extravagances), but began housekeeping at once on the chattels and provisions furnished by devoted parishioners. The prospects of the bride and groom were certainly bright, for to this day may be seen upon one of the window-panes, scratched with a diamond, the day after the wedding, the following inscription:

EPHRAIM WOODBRIDGE,

Hic Vixit.

HAIL HAPPY DAY!—THE FAIREST SUN THAT EVER ROSE!

1769.

The story ends sorrowfully, for both died of consumption within seven years.

In the old days, clergymen were in greater demand, and such a passenger, arriving by ship from England, was sure to be hailed with rejoicing, and usually found a parish already waiting his administrations. The only allusion this ancient record makes to the death of Rev. John Woodbridge, in June, 1718, is found in the words written July 18 following: "A meeting of the Inhabitants was called to Consult the Concern of a Minister." "Voted that we proceed forthwith to look after the getting of a minister." "Voted that there be two men chosen to manage and goe upon the design of geteing a minister." At a meeting held August 8, in the same year, after voting to give a Mr. Hobart, a "Tryal with respect to Settlement," it was voted to "allow the men that went for a minister two shillings per day for ther time and to bear ther charg, booth ther expences and horses. Samuel Day and Samuel Ely are allowed five pounds and four pence for ther charge and horses, and Benjamin Smith six shillings."

It seems that the parish was not satisfied with Mr. Hobart, for the following November appears this entry: "Voted to give an Invitation to the Rev. Mr. Payrepoint to com and undertake the work of the Ministry in this place."

This arrangement was more satisfactory apparently, for February 16, 1719, it was "voted to give the Rev. Mr. Fairpoint forty Pound

for half a year, in order for his Incourigment to preach the Word to us." "Voted to Alow to Benjamin Smith 13 shillings for to defray what charg he laid out in his journey to fetch Mr. Pairpoint and to alow Benjamin Parsons 6 shillings for his charg in his journey to boston."

In May, 1719, "It was proposed whether we should call Mr. Pairpoint to the worck of the Ministry here. Voted in the Afirmative." "Voted also to allow him Ninety pounds per year for his Settlement and Salery, including the use of the Ministry land."

Probably this offer was not sufficiently attractive to keep him in town, for it soon became necessary to try again. The record for September 30, 1719, is most interesting in this connection. It reads:

"Att a meeting of the Inhabitants about procuring of a Minister it was Voted and Concluded that ye present Commitey take care to send by the first opertunity toward Boston and see after a minister by sum man that is goeing about his own business. And if a minister be obtained to pay what nessasarey charge the—".

Here the clerk puts in a note to explain the abrupt termination: "There being too little Room to write the note according to the circumstance of it, I shal begin again and doe it fulley in the next Page." • He then goes on:

"In order to procuer a minister, there having been much discours About sending for a minister and whither to goe toward Boston or to send to the lower Colledg, Benjamin Smith (having business to goe to Boston as was supposed) made an offer that he would get a minister and If he did not, would have notheing for his pains, But he not being Redy to goe, It was Voted and Concluded that the County should take care to send by the first opertunitye toward Boston to se after a minister by sum man that was goeing that way about his own business. And after a minister ware obtained to pay what necessary charg should be expended in bringing of a minister but not to pay anything If no minister Came. But only what was nessasary for the minister's charge, not aloweing anything for the mans Journey. And that the present Comitey give orders to the man that went If any opertunity presented."

December 21 following the chronicler writes:

"Votes made and past To alow Deacon Parsons and Deacon Ely 2 shillings per day for 9 days a piece in their Journey to Boston after a minister and to Deacon Parsons 12 shillings for his horse and Deacon Ely 10 shillings. And to Deacon Parsons 10 shillings for his time to New Haven and to alow for ther expences the Sum 3-2-1 to boston and new haven. Also to Allow for the law book 1 pound, 3 shillings & 3 pence and for the little book 3 shillings."

The obstreperous Benjamin Smith, who appears to have visited Boston and failed to get a minister, though the parish was asked to bear the expense just the same, is summarily disposed of in this paragraph:

"Voted—that the precinct shall defend the last years Comitey for ther action with Benjamin Smith and pay what charg is necessary."

It is plain that this Smith demanded and secured of the parish pay for a journey made to Boston after a minister, and the parish also paid Deacons Ely and Parsons for the same service. It was doubtless a mere difference of opinion, not affecting the good will of his neighbors, for a Benjamin Smith continued for some time in his office as constable, as appears by the record from year to year.

At last, January 25, 1720, pleased with the man secured by the united powers of the three worthies, it was "Voted to give an Invitation to Mr. Saml Hopkins to Carey on the worck of Ministrey hear in this Place. Desenters against this vote are Capt. Ball, Henry Rogers and John Higgins."

June 1, 1720, Rev. Samuel Hopkins was settled. Mr. Hopkins's wife was a sister of the celebrated Rev. Jonathan Edwards. No sign appears by this record of the suspicions mentioned in Barber's "Massachusetts Historical Collection" (1839) that he was heterodox; and as there is elsewhere record of John Worthington, Springfield, being "presented" for holding such views, they were doubtless unpopular. He served the congregation honorably and well for thirty-six years; and the following epitaphs, taken from brown and mossy headstones in the old cemetery in the "Cold Spring" district of West Springfield, will testify to the popular estimation of the pastor and his wife:

"Here rests ye Body of Rev^d Mr. Sam^l Hopkins, In whom, sound Judgement solid Learning, Candour, Piety, Sincerity, Constancy and universal Benevolence combined to form an excellent Minister, A Kind Husband, Parent and Friend, who deceased October the 6th, A. D. 1755 in the 62^d yr of his age and the 36 of his ministry."

"Mistress Esther Hopkins, Relict of ye late Rev^d Mr. Sam^l Hopkins, In whom a Superior understanding, uncommon Improvements of Knowledge, Exemplary Piety and Exalted Virtue combined to form a distinguished female character, deceased June 17th 1766 in ye 72^d year of her age."

There are many hints here and there to show steady advancement, morally and intellectually, in the growth of the parish.

December 10, 1706, it was voted to build a schoolhouse, "and that Deacon Parsons Samll Day and Samll Ely to see the same Accomplished as soon as May Bee, and to Raise a Rate to Defray the charg of sd worcke."

At the same meeting it was voted to "Raise Twenty Pounds money for a meeting house bell." Hitherto, as was the case at first in many New England colonies, the beating of the drum and the blowing of the conch-shell called people together for worship. December 14, 1708, is recorded a vote to "Alow John Ely twenty shillings for Drumeing on Sabbath day."

On the same date it was "Voted to Rase Money for setting up the vane twenty shillings." A good authority declares that this vane was made chiefly of sheet iron supported on a strong iron rod and had several devices cut into it, with the figures 1702, the date of the erection of the house. The crowning glory of the whole was the gilded copper rooster, counterpart of the one on the First Church in Springfield, said to have been imported from England, and perhaps hatched in the same brood. The West Springfield weathercock is lost, but its Springfield contemporary remains to this day, a shining example to aspiring poultry the world over, and an illustration of faithfulness which it would be wisdom for mortal beholders to copy.

About that time it was voted to "give ye widow Day one pound" for some unknown obligation; to "by of ye Babtis Persons their Rite in ye Meeting house"; that "Ye drum should be Beat on ye Sabbath and the Comittee to Take Care yt be Done;" to "Repare the meeting House by Patching the Ruff and mending the underpining"; and that "the FENCs about the Bureing yard be Repared." March 11, 1740, it was voted to "Proceed against Jonathan White In Law if they think best For not Shingling the Meeting House According to Bargain."

March 22, 1750-1, it is recorded "John Ely 2nd had in the face of the Meeting the Oath Administered to him in the Act for drawing in the Bills of Credit of the Several Denominations which have at any Time Been Issued by this Government and are still outstanding and for Ascertainning the Rate of Coind Silver in this Province for the future."

In the back of the book are various memoranda, jotted down in an evident hurry, among them one bearing the date of March 21, 1759, showing the agreement of Benjamin Day with Josiah Wood to "Ring the Sabeday Bells and Lectors (lectures) Bells and Sweep the Meeting house for one year, one pound ten Shillings." Another item says that the "Committee farmed out the Burying Yard" to Joel Ely upon "Condition That he keep down the bushes and Mend the fence and pay four Shillings."

In many churches of that day the question of "seating" the people was a vexed one, and required considerable tact to arrange without causing friction. Some trouble must have been experienced here, for on April 11, 1734, it was "Voted that the Seators should observe as a Rule to do their worcke by to consider Persons Age." "Voted, that the Seators should obsarve as A ruil to do their Worcke by should be men's Estate."

In an historical sermon, Rev. Dr. Vermilye, the fifth pastor of this parish, has spoken of the first item as "a mark of respect and perhaps a gentle reminder that they were getting on in years and, needing to pay particular attention to the preacher, were placed in seats near the pulpit." As for the second, it was a sort of figurative "patting on the back" of those from whom a large share of pecuniary assistance was expected and who, pleased with this public attention, would feel less like refusing when requests for money came.

About the time that Queen Anne's eleven years' war was closed by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, the "flank seats" were ordered "made into pues," and that there be a "new seating" in the church.

December 10, 1725, it was voted to give "Liberty to Lieutenant Pynchon to build a pew on the west side of ye great dore on ye south side of ye Meeting house for to set in with his family, but not to have Liberty to sell or dispose of it to others or to any other."

And so it goes—the simple record of country life in a New England village, told by outspoken and devout narrators, in a direct and unvarnished style, in many respects worthy of copying even in our day. It is impossible to touch upon all the interesting things discovered in even a casual reading of the ninety odd closely-written pages of this quaint old volume. During the pastorates of Woodbridge

and Hopkins, from 1698 to 1750, as well as later, many important events in the general history of the colonies were transpiring. These, however, left little, if any, impression here. Under the date of 1774 is a copy of the petition of the parish, addressed "To his Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Captain General and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Council," protesting against the setting off of some of the taxable lands into other parishes. No allusion is made in this record to the Boston massacre of 1770, the famous tea party of 1773, of Lexington and Bunker Hill in 1775, or of that crowning event of all on July 4, 1776, save in one instance where the scribe, who must have had something of an idea of the sublimity of it all, ends his copy of a town warrant with these words: "Under our hands and Seals this tenth day of March and in the first year of the United States of America Anno domini 1777,"—the only allusion in the book to the birthday of Independence.

How the reader wishes these leaves would throw some new light on the war with King Philip, the burning of Springfield, or the Shays rebellion!

One closes the leaves of this time-honored volume with all reverence, knowing that much of the beauty of the original is likely to be lost in the translation, and that much is necessarily lost where the quaint spelling cannot in every case be easily transcribed. But we may fittingly desire that when our earthly records shall be translated into the language of heaven, the purpose of them may prove as sincere and genuine, and the intent as plain, as the writings of the old First Parish record-makers of West Springfield.

JUNE 2, 1890. Annual meeting. Officers elected for the ensuing year as follows:

President, Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Dr. WILLIAM RICE, Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF, Hon. EPHRAIM W. BOND, Hon. GEORGE D. ROBINSON, Chicopee, Hon. E. B. GILLET, Westfield, Judge W. B. C. PEARSONS, Holyoke, Rev. L. CLARK SEELYE, Northampton, Rev. GEORGE M. STEELE, Wilbraham, Hon. LEVI STOCKBRIDGE, Amherst, S. O. LAMB, Greenfield, Judge CHARLES L. GARDNER, Palmer, Rev. J. W. HARDING, Longmeadow, W. N. FLYNT, Monson, R. O. DWIGHT, South Hadley Falls, HENRY F. BROWN, Brimfield, H. S. SHELDON, Suffield, Connecticut.

Clerk, EDWARD MORRIS.

Treasurer, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Executive Committee: JAMES KIRKHAM, CLARK W. BRYAN, A. M. COPELAND, E. S. BRADFORD, E. B. MAYNARD, H. S. LEE.

JUNE 16, 1890. Adjourned annual meeting. A paper was read by GEORGE SHELDON of Deerfield on

The Pocumtuck Confederacy¹

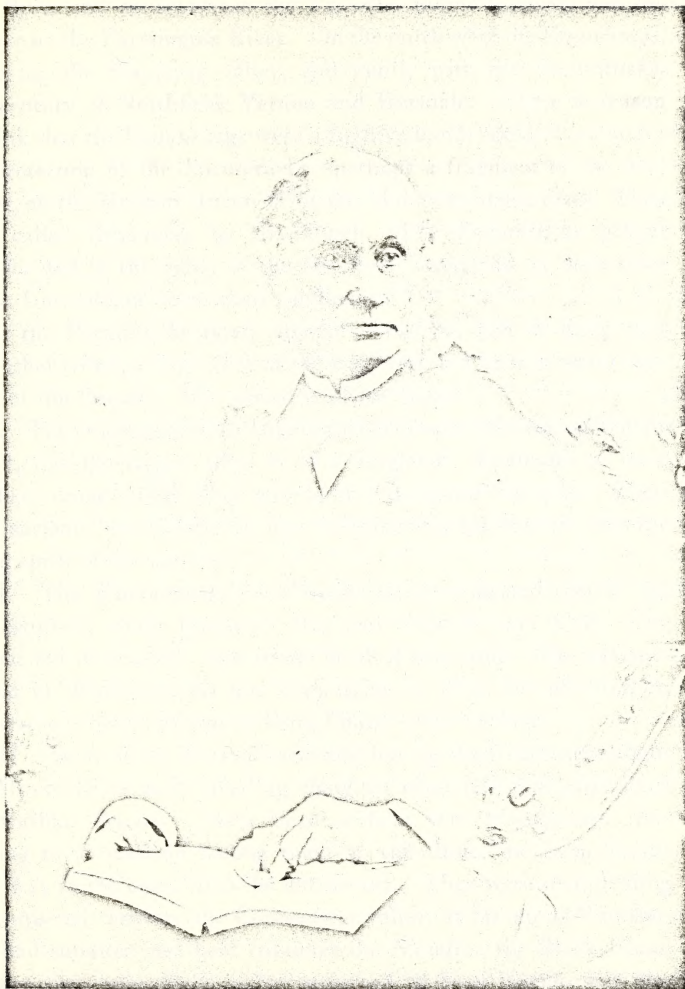
MIDWAY between the plantations of Pilgrim and Puritan on the seacoast, and the Dutch settlements on the Upper Hudson, lay a region scarcely mentioned by the early writers of New England history, in which lived a people of whom the information they give is still more scanty. It is only here and there, as one pores over the musty records of the period, that a glimpse of this territory, or its occupants, appears through the primeval haze. Yet, on concentrating these feeble gleams on the speculum of patient scrutiny, at length there stands out in bold relief a powerful confederation of savages, occupying or dominating the great valley of the Connecticut River and its tributaries, from Brattleboro to Hartford.

This power may well be called the Pocumtuck Confederacy, for the Pocumtucks were the leading tribe and her chieftains the acknowledged head of its warlike expeditions.

The subordinate clans or allies of this confederacy were the *Nau-nawtuks*—as they were called by William Pynchon in 1648—situated

¹The sources of my information concerning the Valley Indians are numberless; but I have drawn more largely from the archives of the United Colonies.

THE POCKET-BOOK CONFEDERATE



REV. DR. SAMUEL G. BUCKINGHAM

on both sides of the river at Hadley and Northampton; the *Agawams*, in Springfield, Suffield and Enfield; the *Warranokes*, on the Westfield River and its branches; the *Podunks*, about Windsor; and the *Tunxis*, on the Farmington River. On the north were the *Squakheags*, occupying the Paquayag valley, and jointly with the Pocumtucks, the territory of Northfield, Vernon and Hinsdale. There is reason to think that the Squakheags were a fugitive band, settled here under the protection of the Pocumtucks—perhaps a fragment of the *Mahicans*, on the Hudson, driven off by the Mohawks about 1610. They were called *Souquakes* by the Dutch. The Pocumtucks proper were located in the valley of the Deerfield River, and on both sides of the Connecticut about their confluence.

As the Pocumtucks rarely appear in history, save in their wars with other tribes, a brief view of the latter will aid us to a better estimate of the former. The period is about 1633.

I. The *Narragansets*, occupying what is now the State of Rhode Island, was the largest tribe in New England. Estimates of their numbers range wildly from two to five thousand warriors. Their chief sachem was *Canonicus*; but *Miantonomo*, his nephew, was the ruling spirit of the nation.

II. The *Wampanoags*, or *Pokanokets*, were located east of the Narragansets, about Buzzard's Bay and towards Cape Cod. The "Good old *Massasoit*" was at the head of this tribe. He was succeeded by *Wamsutta*, his son, who, dying in 1661, left his brother, *Pometacom*—better known as King Philip—chief sachem.

III. West of the Narragansets and having their chief seat about the Mystic River and extending along the coast to the Niantic, lived the warlike *Pequots*. Their head sachem was *Wapegwoot*. According to a tradition among them at this time, the tribe fought their way to the coast from the northward. They were then holding as conquered territory the Connecticut valley, as far up as Windsor, and had subdued and held tributary the *Niantics*, the Block Island Indians, and other clans as far westward as New Haven, and also some on Long Island.

IV. The *Mobegans*, living north of the Pequots, were an offshoot of the latter. *Uncas*, their chief, was of the royal blood, his mother,

Meekumump, being aunt to Wapegwooit, and he heir apparent to the sachemship of the Pequots, through the female line. At this period Uncas had but a scanty following. Events to be narrated show how he obtained a power which, for more than forty years, was a leading element in the affairs of New England. For half of that time Uncas may almost be considered the arbiter of its destiny.

V. Previous to 1633, there is reason to believe, the clans living on the Connecticut below Hartford had been in a confederacy under Sachem *Altarbaenboot*, whose power had been broken by the Pequots. His son and successor, who had at this time no land or followers, was *Sequasson*.

VI. The *Mahicans*, then in a broken condition, lived on the Hudson, below Albany. This tribe has often been confounded with the Mohegans, but I have failed to discover even the most distant connection. The Mahicans held friendly relations with the Pocumtucks and were allied with them in warring against the Mohawks and the Mohegans.

VII. The *Nipmucks* were scattered in small clans over the central part of Massachusetts and the northeast part of Connecticut. The *Quabaugs*, at Brookfield, were claimed as subjects by both Uncas and the Pokanokets, but they were finally absorbed by the Nipmucks.

VIII. The *Mohawks*, located on the river of that name, west of Albany, were one of the Five Nations. They were the most warlike of all the tribes enumerated. Brave, enterprising and rapacious, with all the power of the Five Nations to back them in an emergency, they were feared, hated and courted, alike by English, French and natives.

For estimating the population of the Pocumtucks at any given time a few slender data only are found.

In 1658 a fine was imposed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies upon certain allied tribes for damages done at Niantic. In the distribution of the amount, the Pocumtucks were assessed the same as the Narragansets. The lowest estimate of the population of the Narragansets met with, is that of Gookin—probably the best authority in the matter—who places it at 5,000 souls as late as 1674.

Again in the winter of 1637-8, on account of the interruption of agricultural pursuits by the Pequot war in Connecticut the summer before, the English there were suffering for bread. The General Court, foreseeing that a supply could be obtained only of the Indians up the river, passed an order, February 9th, that "Noe man in this River, nor Agawam shall goe vpp River amonge the Indians, or at home at their houses, to trade for corne," under a penalty of five shillings per bushel. This was on the ground that "if euery man be at liberty to trucke with the Indians vppon the River, where the supply of Corne in all likelihood is to bee had to furnish our necessities, the market of Corne amonge the Indians may be greatly advanced, to the prejudice of these plantations." To prevent this corner in corn, March 9th, a contract was made with William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, to deliver 500 bushels of corn at Windsor and Hartford, at five shillings per bushel. For all above 500 bushels he might charge two pence more. Payment was to be made in wampum, three pieces for a penny, or in merchantable beaver, at ten shillings a pound. It was provided, however, that if Pynchon was obliged to pay the Indians more than "sixe sixes of wampum a pecke," then his price might be increased in proportion. A sort of non-importation act was also passed, for the benefit of Mr. Pynchon in this transaction. It was to the effect that no more than four shillings a bushel should be paid to Indians who brought their own corn down to sell, under a penalty of five shillings per bushel.

Corn was not found at Agawam, Warranoco, or Naunawtuk, and Pynchon or his agents, with generous bags of wampum, pushed up through the wilderness to Pocumtuck. This was only eighteen years after the Mayflower dropped her anchor in Plymouth Bay. The Pocumtucks had plenty of food to sell, and it must have been a busy and exciting day when Pynchon came among them to buy five hundred bushels of corn, bringing twelve thousand strings of wampum to put in circulation there. Doubtless files of women, with baskets on their backs, were soon seen threading the narrow pathways to the river; for in a short time a fleet of fifty canoes, freighted with Indian corn, was on its way down the Connecticut, to relieve the impending famine in the settlements below.

This great commercial event in the history of the Pocumtucks must have taught them to recognize the advantage of a market among the English. It may have been a reason for their long-continued peaceful attitude towards the strange intruders. This large store of surplus grain, at that time of the year, tends to show that the Pocumtucks were an agricultural people, industrious and provident. By its sale they show knowledge of the law of trade and a readiness to better themselves by its operation. It is also strong evidence of a large population at Pocumtuck—which is the main point under consideration. Furthermore, in 1652, the Pocumtucks were ranked by the Dutch at New York as among the "*Great Indians*," that is, the large tribes. From existing evidence, we have proof of a dense population, or of long-continued residence. Concurring testimony to habitation is found on all of the bluffs about the meadows and on every spot on their surface which rises above the spring floods. The practiced eye discovers similar marks all along the banks of the Connecticut, and particularly about the mouth of the Pocumtuck River, and at the falls of Peskeompskut. If these dwelling places were occupied contemporaneously they indicate a population so dense that the estimate of the commissioners in 1658 should not excite surprise.

This region was well adapted to savage life. The meadows produced abundant crops of corn, pumpkins, squash and beans. The streams and ponds teemed with fish and waterfowl. Nuts and berries abounded. Beaver, otter, fisher, mink and muskrat were plenty and easily secured. The bear, deer, and raccoon, on the hills, fell victims to the arts or prowess of the natives. Indian hemp, for their lines and nets, grew freely about their wigwams, surviving patches of which still indicate their haunts. What more could the man of nature ask?

The soil appears to have been held in fee simple by petty chieftains, heads of families or clans, in tracts with well-defined bounds. No evidence is found of feudal tenure, or of feudal service to the chief sachem. Women's rights were so far recognized at Pocumtuck, that the right of squaws to own land, as well as to cultivate it, was fully acknowledged. At least four Pocumtuck women sold real estate to the English. *Mashalisk*, by two deeds, conveyed large tracts in

Deerfield and Sunderland. Deeds of land in Northfield were signed by *Asogoa*, daughter of *Sowanaett*, deceased, *Nenepownam*, with her husband *Pammook*, and *Pompatakemo*, with her father, *Mashepetott*.

It is known that nine deeds were made of territory at Pocumtuck proper, although not one foot of land was sold until after the great disaster of 1664, to be related hereafter.

In 1614, Adrian Block discovered the Connecticut, which he named Fresh River. He was from Holland, and in 1633, the Dutch sent a party up the river, who bought a tract of land at Hartford, and there erected the first house ever built in the valley. The land was obtained of *Wapegwooit*, the Pequot sachem, who then held it by conquest. The conquered chief *Alturbaenhoot* was forced to consent to the bargain. All parties, however, agreed that this purchase should be strictly neutral ground.

While the Dutch were making a foothold at Hartford, a party from Plymouth built a trading house above them, at Windsor, and within three years English colonies were established at Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield and Springfield. Peace on the neutral ground was of short duration. War broke out between the Dutch and Pequots. *Wapegwooit* was treacherously slain, and *Uncas* laid claim to the sachemdom of the Pequots. The bulk of the tribe, however, adhered to *Sassacus*, the son of their murdered chieftain, and he became its head. Proud, ambitious, cruel and aggressive, the new sachem soon became the terror of both colonist and native. War was declared against him by the English, and in May, 1637, his principal fort was stormed and a large number of his men killed. *Sassacus*, with a few followers, fled to the Mohawks, but only to meet death at their hands. Scattered bands were hunted down and killed or captured, and in a few weeks the proud Pequot nation became extinct. The miserable few who escaped death, forbidden to use the tribal name, were divided between the Mohegans and the Narragansets, a yearly tribute being exacted from each individual.

How far the Pocumtucks became involved in the war which resulted in the extermination of the Pequots is not known. That they were implicated to some extent is proved by the fact that in September, 1637, a tribute of one and a quarter fathoms of wampum per man

was assessed upon them by the English, toward paying the expenses of the war. The victorious Captain Mason was sent to collect this, and it was doubtless paid with alacrity. The next year the Pocumtucks sent a present of beaver to Governor Winthrop, on hearing a report that the English were about to make war upon them. The Governor told them they had nothing to fear if they had not wronged the English, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the Pocumtucks and the English, which was not broken by that generation which had witnessed the fate of the Pequots.

In 1638, a tripartite treaty was made by the colony of Connecticut, the Narragansets and the Mohegans. The Indians agreed, by its terms, that no appeal to arms was to be made by either tribe, in any quarrel between themselves or against other tribes, without first referring the case to the arbitration of the English, whose decision was to be binding. This treaty, the colonists made a poor pretense of enforcing, and the tribes appealed to it only as it suited their purposes. But, as it ultimately appeared, its consequences were important and far reaching.

Not long after, a conspiracy was planned by Miantonomo to cut off all the English settlers. In this project the Pocumtucks appear to be involved, but the plot was discovered in August, 1642, and nothing came of it.

In August, 1643, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, "For comon Safety and Peace," formed a confederacy under the title of "The United Colonies of New England." Its affairs were managed by a Congress of two commissioners from each colony. All power of dealing with the Indians, in peace or war, was delegated to this body; an act of wisdom if not of necessity, for the English were soon involved in the quarrels between Uncas and Miantonomo.

In 1643, Miantonomo, after several attempts to assassinate Uncas, regardless of the tripartite treaty, invaded the Mohegan country with an army of 1,000 men. After Miantonomo had declined the challenge of Uncas to settle the condition of both tribes by a personal combat, a battle followed, in which the Narragansets were routed, and their chieftain captured. Miantonomo disdained to ask for his life of Uncas, but the most strenuous efforts were made by his tribe

for his ransom; and an appeal was made to the commissioners in his behalf. The commissioners could not interfere to save him, for by the terms of the tripartite treaty the English were bound to favor the invaded tribe. By their consent, Miantonomo was executed by Uncas, after a short captivity. Fierce war thenceforth raged between the Narragansets and the Mohegans. To all remonstrances from the commissioners the Narragansets replied: "We must avenge the death of our Prince." At length Uncas was so hard pressed that English soldiers were sent to his defense, and the colonies were fully committed on the side of the Mohegans by declaring war against their enemy. The latter soon sued for peace, which was concluded August 27, 1645, on an agreement to pay the English 2,000 fathom of wampum, and send to Boston four children of their chiefs, as hostages.

Quiet was hardly restored in the south before trouble arose up the river among the Pocumtucks. An Indian, arrested for burning a tar camp near Windsor, was forcibly rescued from the officers by Chickwallop, sachem of the Naunawtuks. The commissioners at once sent messengers to demand the culprit. Not finding him at Naunawtuk, they proceeded to Warranoco, where the Indians were insolent, "vauntinge themselves in their armes, bows and arrowes, hatchets, swords, some with their guns ready charged, before, and in the presence of the English messengers, they primed and cocked them, ready to give fire, and told them that if they should offer to carry away any man thence, the Indians were resolved to fight, and if they should stay but one night at the English tradinge house, near all the country would come in to rescue any such Indian seized." The messengers returned without the offender.

In this state of affairs the commissioners made proclamation, that in case any tribe refused to deliver up criminals taking refuge among them, an English force should be sent to make reprisals, and that the captives thus taken should be held as slaves, unless the fugitives be delivered up. This vigorous measure brought the Pocumtucks to terms. Noynetachee, a sachem of Warranoco, went before the commissioners, where he "denied" some things charged and "excused some part." He said no harm was intended to the English, and that "8 fathom of wampum" had been tendered in settlement. So harmony was temporarily restored.

Upon the murder of Wapegwooit, Sassacus, as we have seen, succeeded him, and claimed rulership over the tribes subdued by his father. Among the nominal chieftains of those tribes remaining in exile was Sequasson. When the Pequots were scattered and Sassacus slain, Sequasson had emerged from obscurity, gathered a small following, and hoped to regain the power which Wapegwooit had wrested from his father, Altarbaenhoot. Upon the rise of Uncas under the protection of the English, who put under him the greater part of the Pequot captives, the hopes of Sequasson were blasted. He became the deadly enemy of the favorite, and plotted to ruin or kill him. Leave was given Uncas to retaliate, and Sequasson was driven again into exile, taking refuge at Warranoco. Here in the spring of 1646 he engaged one of his followers, named Watchebrok, whom he had before hired to kill an Indian sachem, to murder either Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Haynes, the Connecticut commissioners, or Mr. Whiting, a magistrate of Hartford. Sequasson said to him: "I am almost ruined, and the English at Hartford are the cause of it." He gave Watchebrok three girdles of wampum, in hand, and promised a "great reward" when the deed should be done. The murderer was then to flee to the Mohawks, giving out on the way that he had been hired by Uncas to "do the work for so much wampum. That would set the English against Uncas, and then he, the said Sequasson, should rise again." Watchebrok grew timid, and confessed the plot, upon which Jonathan Gilbert was sent to Warranoco to demand that Sequasson should come before the commissioners to answer the charge. He was promised safe conduct, both ways, whatever the result of the examination should be. He refused to appear, and fled to Pocumtuck. The commissioners were determined to take Sequasson by force, and at their request Uncas gladly undertook the service. He could thus serve the English and revenge himself on his old enemy at the same time. With a party of Mohegan warriors, he marched to Pocumtuck, and captured Sequasson, by a night surprise, and took him to Hartford. The charge against him not being fully proved, Sequasson was released; but he remained in exile until 1650, when, at the intercession of the Mohawks and the Pocumtucks, he was allowed to return home.

Upon the execution of Miantonomo, Pessacus, his brother, became chief sachem of the Narragansets. Finding that the Mohegans, backed by the English, were more than a match for him, he, in 1647, made overtures to the Mohawks and Pocumtucks for assistance against Uncas. The latter tribe, who could not forgive Uncas for invading their territory and carrying off Sequasson, willingly consented. A grand campaign was planned for the next year, in which the power of the Mohegan chief was to be forever broken. The Narragansets were to make their attack July 5 or 6, 1648, and their allies, as soon as the corn was ripe, were to join in the war. The reason for this singular arrangement of the campaign does not appear, further than the "Narragansets were to begin the war." The rendezvous for the allies was at Pocumtuck, and in July and August, reports reached the English that a thousand warriors were in arms there for the expedition. The commissioners met early in September, and at once set the State interpreter, Thomas Stanton, to learn the facts. He found the Pocumtuck Valley swarming with armed men who had been busy in making preparations for the march, and building "a very large and a strong fort," while waiting for the Mohawks. Stanton found "one thousand warriors at Pocomtucket, 300 or more having guns, powder and bullets." Assembling the sachems, he represented to them the danger of these proceedings. He told them that the English were a just as well as a warlike people; that they were bound by treaty to defend Uncas against the Narragansets, and however much they wished to keep peace with the Pocumtucks, they were equally bound to defend them against any allies of the Narragansets. He probably reminded them of the fate of the Pequots when they incurred the hostility of the English ten years before.

Upon the representations of Stanton, and news that the French, or Eastern Indians, had attacked the Mokawks and killed two of their sachems, the chiefs decided to give up the expedition. Uncas, who had easily repulsed the Narragansets, exultantly attributed this failure of the allies to their fear of him, for he had "*dared* the Mohawks, threatening, if they came, to set his ground, with gob-bets of their flesh." He felt himself a powerful chief, and it would seem that Pessacus shared this view, for the next year, instead of

attacking him in open war, he attempted to assassinate his hated enemy.

In 1650 the Narragansets were brought to terms by a threat of the commissioners to invade and lay waste their country, and a few months of quiet followed. In 1652, a scheme was on foot between the Dutch of New York, and the New England Indians, for a secret rising to cut off the English and the Mohegans. Guns, ammunition, cloth and wampum, were sent from New York to the "Great Indian" tribes, to engage them in the plot. Among these "Great Indians" were the Pocumtucks. The result of the application is not known, as the plot was discovered in season to frustrate it.

In 1654 the Pocumtucks were again on the war path. Ninigret—sachem of the Niantics—had engaged them to assist in the invasion of Long Island. On reaching Fisher's Island they were told that the Long Island Indians were under the protection of the English; when they at once turned the prows of their canoes homeward. A small party of young braves, however, separating from the main body, went on a raid against the Potatucks, carrying off some captives and considerable plunder. In relation to this affair, the commissioners, in September, 1654, write to "Weerewomaag, the Pocumtuck Sachem and the rest of the Sachems there, that the Commissioners are Informed, that though Ninegrett by misinformation drew downe the Pocumtuck Sachems and Indians, as far as fishers Island, to Invade and make war vpon the long Islanders, yett, when they understood that the said long Islanders were friends to the English . . . they desisted from their Enterprise and peacably Returned home, which the Commissioners accept as an evidence of theire respect, and shall not concent that the said Pocumtucks shallbee anyways desturbed or impressed by the Indians in Amity or Couenant with the English."

In regard to the unauthorized raid on the Potatucks, they urge that the captives and goods be returned, that the peace of the country be thereby better settled.

In 1655 or 6 the Podunks, a Pocumtuck clan near Hartford, were broken up and driven off by Uncas, contrary to the orders of the English authorities. To avenge this act the Pocumtucks marched in force against the Mohegans, defeated Uncas in battle, killing and

capturing many of his men. Uncas, pretending final submission to the Pocumtucks, sued for peace through the English. Connecticut sent messengers, with men and wampum, from Uncas to the Pocumtucks, but the latter were in no mood for peace. Wonopequen, one of the sachems, abused one of the messengers, "throwing an ox horn and the wampum at him, charging his men to kill his horses," and tried to strike another with a gun. An arrangement for peace was finally made and the Pocumtucks gave up their Mohegan captives. This half peace was of short duration. On their return, the Connecticut embassy was again assaulted by Wonopequen, and one of Uncas's envoys taken away by force. Having accomplished his object, the treacherous Uncas at once made a hostile march against the Naunawtuks. The commissioners, fearing lest they might become involved in a war with the Pocumtucks through the acts of their troublesome ally, called him to account for this breach of faith. But the Mohegan sachem was a difficult subject to deal with, under the existing circumstances. He had great force of character. He was brave, fearless and daring to rashness; fond of war and turbulent in peace; haughty, imperious and often cruel to those under him; artful and faithless in dealing with the natives, he was hated by them as a traitor to his race. His ambition and avarice, as well as his gratitude for protection, held him ever loyal to the English. He was insolent and aggressive to the tribes around him and engaged in war regardless of opposing numbers, believing that the maintenance of his power was so essential to the colonists that they would come to his help in case of disaster. He judged correctly in this, but the commissioners were often placed in embarrassing circumstances. They feared he might "draw on mischievous effects above his power to issue," and so it proved.

In May, 1657, Massepetoat, chief sachem of the Pocumtucks, having engaged the Mohawks, the Narragansets and Tunxis Indians as allies, determined on a war of extermination against the Mohegans. With a show of respect to the English, he sent to the General Court of Massachusetts to ask their consent to make war upon Uncas. His agents, Wetowasnati and Wiscoquunc, two Pocumtuck sachems, are told that the court does not understand the ground of the quarrel

and they are advised to refer the matter to the next meeting of the commissioners. This advice had no effect, unless to restrain the Mohawks, who did not join the expedition. The Pocumtucks, with the other allied clans, made the proposed inroad. In August, 1657, they met the Mohegans and defeated them with great slaughter. Uncas was driven to his fort on the Niantic, where he was besieged. In his extremity he was relieved by a party of English, sent by the magistrates of Connecticut. The commissioners at their meeting in September following, disowned this measure and ordered the whites to return home. By this double policy Uncas was saved and war with the Pocumtucks averted. Uncas was now ordered to let the Podunks return home, and the Pocumtucks were notified of this order, and told that the commissioners "expect they will forbear all hostility against Uncas until their next meeting," at which time the contending parties are urged to appear and submit their grievances to them for a settlement. The Pocumtucks declined. They were an independent people and preferred to settle their quarrels in their own fashion. In the spring of 1658, Wonoquequen led a small war party into the Mohegan country. By strategy, a company of the enemy in canoes were enticed on shore, where they were set upon by the invaders, who killed several and took others captive. On their return a lawless element in the party made an assault on a farmhouse in Wethersfield, carrying off some corn and two children of Chawquat, a friendly Indian. Connecticut sent messengers to Pocumtuck to recover the plunder and captives, but "the Indians Returned nothing but Scoffs and Jeers."

August 2, 1658, the General Court of Connecticut wrote the commissioners complaining of this, and other "affronts of the Pocumtuck Indians." The commissioners are in session at Boston, whence they reply, September 18, "We shall let the Pocumtuck Sachems understand how ill we Resent these injurious passages....our desire is and our endeavour shalbee that the English....may not suffer any Injuries or affronts from the Indians....whereby their pride and insolancy may be increased, or the honor of the English impared....or suffer that to be done that might giue Just cause to think wee are either afraid of them, or seeke a quarrel with them." In

pursuance of this policy, on the same day "a message was sent to the Sachems at Pocumtuck," in which complaint is made of the conduct of Wonoqueen in 1656, when the envoys went to Warronoco to treat for Uncas; and of the late outrage at Wethersfield. "Chawquat," they say, "a peaceable Indian, liveing neare the English, and hath not bine engaged in any ware or quarrells this twenty yeares, hath two of his children taken violently away and kept captive at Pocumtucke." Also, that "they fight within theire towns, and yards, which they cannot suffer." They ask "the minds of the Sachems herin, how far they will owne and approve the same, expecting, that if they Intend to keep Friendship still with us, they will take care to Render due Satisfaction."

What reply was made to this message does not appear. Certainly hostilities continued between the Pocumtucks and Uncas in the summer of 1659, and the danger of a general war became imminent.

September 3, 1659, the commissioners, then in session at Hartford, sent the following to the Pocumtucks by Samuel Marshfield of Springfield, as interpreter:

"Vpon seuerall complaints from divers English of jnjuries done by the Pocumtucke Indians and their Confederates; a message was sent to the Pocumtuck Sachems as followeth:

Impf: Whereas there hath bine long peace & friendship between all the English & the said Sachems; which we are willing & desirous shall bee continued; yett of late seuerall complaints haue bin brought to vs, of Injuries & affronts offered to seuerall of our people by the said Sachems, or some of their men; & that, without any provocation or cause given by the English; as we are enformed; which wee cannot beare.

2. That in theire warrs and quarrells amongst themselues, they presse soe neare, and sometimes into the houses of the English, as to theire great disturbance and which tends directly to the breach of peace betwixt vs and them, if not speedily prevented:

3. That therefore the Commissioners are willing and desirous, to speake with the said Sachems, or some of them deputed by the Rest, both concerning the former Injuries complained of, and that some meet agreement may bee made and declared, how the English in all parts may bee secured from losse, or disturbance by any of the said Sachems, theire men or adherents, whiles they are prosecuting theire warrs with others; soe that peace and friendship may bee continued between the English and them, as in former times:

4. That if any of them Intend to giue the Commissioners a meeting heer, that it bee as soone as may bee, and by thursday night next, at furthest: and wheras wee haue occasion to speake with seuerall Sachems, and other Indians; wee doe therefore desire, and expect, that all acts of hostilitie bee suspended, and forborne, on all sides, during the siting of the Commissioners: the like Injunction, we haue laid vpon Uncas, and his party, that soe the Pocumtucke Sachems or messengers may come and Return in safety;

Hartfort Septem: 3: 1659."

The ensuing message was likewise sent to Uncas:

1. "The Commissioners haue bin Informed of seuerall Injuries and affrontes done to some English, by the Pocumtucke and Narragansett Indian, whiles they were in the procecuton of theire warr against him, which quarrells, haue been occasioned by his want of attendance to the counsell of the English:

2. The Commissioners haue sent to the Pocumtuck Sachems, and the Indians att Tunksis, whom they expect heer by wensday or thursday next, and if hee see cause to take that opportunitie to satisfy the Commissioners, conforming his proceedings, and Improve their enterest for making his peace; the Commissioners are willing to attend the same:

3. That we haue giuen charge to the Pocumtucke, and Tunksis, or other Indians, to forbear all acts of hostilitie towards him or his people during the siting of the Commissioners, and doe expect and require of him that hee cause all *his* people to forbear all hostile acts toward said Pocumticke, Tunksis and other Indians; while the Commissioners shall continew att hartford; and while said Indians shalbe applying themselves to the commissioners.

Hartford the 3: of September 1659."

The result of this mission is told by John Pynchon in a letter received at Hartford, September 7 or 8, 1659:

"Much Honored Gentlemen,

The messengers sent according to your desires to the Pocumtucke Sachems being returned; I shall briefly giue your worshipes an account of the Successe of the Journey; Coming to Pocumtucke; hee that was Interpreter declared your message to the Sachems there, according to his seuerall Instructions; and whoe to the first thing redily returned this answere; that it was all theire desires that peace and friendship betwixt themselves and the English should continew; and wheras in the message sent to them, there is mension of wronges and Injuries done by them to the English: They answered: first; that knew of none; and if any were done; it was not by the allowance of the Sachems; for they had charged their men to doe noe wrong to any English or their Cattle:

2condly if it were made out to them; that any of theire men had done the wrong, they would make Satisfaction to the English; Soe fare they would bee from countenancing any, in offending the English, and what more to say to it, they knew not:

to the second thinge, that in the warrs they presse to neare the English &c: they say, that as friends, they come to the English for victualls, and charge their people to carry it friendly; but if that English Sachems will say they doe not allow of it; and will prescribe another way, or Course, for them to take, if it bee reasonable they will attend it:

3d. To the desire of the Commissioners to speak with them: they say they cannot come to Hartford; neither doe they know any engagement that lyes on them to come to the meetings of the English Sachems; and they doe not send for the English Sachems, to their meetings: The Reasons why they can not come to the Commissioners, are two, first, because they have a great meeting amongst themselves three daies hence, and must attend that; it being all one with the Commissioners meeting.

2condly they are in confederacye with many others, as with the Souquakes, and Mohawks, and others, and can doe nothing without them:

Lastly, to the desire of the Commissioners, that all acts of hostilitie may cease during their setting: they are not in a capacitie to attend to it:

1st because they have sent out seven or eight men to lye in waite for some of Uncas his men, but two daies before: they being now gone, can not be called in.

2d if they could: yett it is not possible for them to give notice to the Indians of the Duch River, and others whoe are engaged with them, and are dayly sending out some vpon the Designe:

To the third particulare, that some agreement may bee made how the English may bee secured; they desire the English Sachems to conclude what is best, and fitt, to bee attended by them; and they are resolved to attend it, when it is declared to them; if it bee that which shalbee found Reasonable; this is the sume of what they say to the messengers sent to them; and all along hold out a Resolution of living in peace with the English; and say they will not be the first to breake the peace; They are resolved not to be the beginners of any breach with the English; and will yeild to the English in anything but in making peace with Vncas; and that they would not have the English to perswade them to it; for they can not have peace with *him*: I am bould to present this Relation of their answere, as I scribed it from the Interpreter's mouth, because William Edwards, whoe accompany him, is in hast; hee may possibly Relate somewhat more, but his hastning gives mee time onely to Relate the *maine* and sume of all: not have else att present, I take my leaue,

And Subscribe your Worships servant,

JOHN PYNCHON.

It was my desire that the messengers, and Interpreter Samuell Marshfield, would have written the Pocumtucke Sachems answere to your Message, with his owne hand: onely, because he being a slow Scribe, could not soe soone effect it, Neither could I perswade him to it; but I have caused him to Read over what I have writ, and to Subscribe his hand to the truth of it.

Your Worships Servant to Command

SAMUEL MARSHFIELD."

This diplomatic as well as manly reply of the Pocumtucks was barely received by the commissioners before complaint was made to them by John Webb and other inhabitants of Northampton, that, "Two Dutchmen, one Irish man, and one Frenchman, stole away seven mares and other cattle which they missed, and hauing driuen them away to Pocumtacke the last Lord's day, they desired the Sachem to pursue the said thieues, and to apprehend them; and to bring back the mares, &c, for which they promised the Sachems fifty shillings for eury mare, if they brought backe the mares, as also the men: and the sd Sachem Wonopequen, vndertaking the same; and sending word to Northampton men to come and Receiue theire Mares; Wherevpon John Webb and others of Northampton, goeing for the said Mares, which they saw in the Indians possession, as alsoe for the men; the said Wonopequen Refused to deliuer them according to agreement; and Required great sums of wampum, coates, shirts, liquors, &c. Saying hee had bought them of the Indians that fetched them back, and that eury mare was worth twenty pounds."

The commissioners saw that prompt and decisive measures could no longer be delayed without incurring the contempt of the natives. The young Pocumtucks, of late, had been growing bold and insolent. Daily contact with the settlers at Springfield and Northampton had disabused them of that superstitious fear which formerly clothed the English with supernatural power. The conciliatory, if not vacillating, course of the commissioners was beginning to be considered as arising from fear, and the hot-headed braves were ready for war. The chiefs, too, were getting restive under the continual interference of the whites in their tribal quarrels, and their support of the treacherous Uncas. It shows a clear insight, by the councilors, of the certain consequences of a war with the English, and the firm hold of the sachems on their subjects, when a peaceful reply was returned to the following message:

"Instructions for Thomas Stanton and the company sent with him to the Pocumtuck Sachems, the 10th of September, 1659:

Imprimis: You are to lett them know that wee Received theire answare, but in seuerall particulars are unsatisfyed, as, first, as that they say they desire to keep

peace, yett haue committed seuerall outrages against the English, and pretend excuses, not to come and answare for them; or giue satisfaction:

In theire answare that they know noe wronge done to the English; they will not take notice of it: had they come they might have proued—(as the Commissioners haue done)—much Injury and an Intollerable affront put vpon Mr. Brewster during their seige of Vncas ffort, which was done by some of their companie, for which the Commissioners doe expect and Require Satisfaction of the Pocomtucke Sachem, being the chiefe Captaine in that war:

You shall Require the Pocomtucke Sachem to deliuer vnto you the Mares, cattle and four men, which they agreed to fetch in: yett after they sent for the men of Northampton to Receiue them: they denied to lett them haue them according to their agreement, and haue put them to great charge, for which we alsoe expect they should giue them Satisfaction by abatement of what was promised:

You shall assure them the Commissioners will not bee baffled by them but if they will not forthwith deliuer the mares and men and cattle: if you are sure they haue any in theire hands, the Commissioners are resolu'd to Recouer them in such a way as will not bee pleasing to them, if they desire peace as they pretend; if you Recouer the mares and cattle they are to bee Returned to the owners; the men you are to convey to Mr Pinchon, to bee sent to Boston Jayle; if you cannot obtaine what is expected you are to sertify the Gour of Conecticott and Capt: Pinchon speedily therof;

lastly, if they continew there; wee expect and Require them to forbear drawing neare in Armed companies to the English Townes or houses; that vpon no pretences whatsoever they Invade or afront any English person or house: that they neither trouble or molest any Indian liuing in an English family; nor such peacable Indians that plant vpon land hired of the English; except they take them in actuall hostilitie; that they hinder not, nor jnjury, nor detain any Indian sent with letters by the English, or traueling with them as guides, or attending on them.

Hartford the 10th of September 1659."

Stanton had hardly left town before Mr. Brewster appeared at Hartford with a particular bill of damage to his premises about three years before, at the time Uncas was besieged by the allies in his fort at Niantic. The commissioners awarded him 40 fathoms of wampum, 10 to be paid by the Tunxis Indians; 15 by the Narragansets; and 15 by the Pocumtucks, and declared that "if said Indians shall refuse to pay; the Commissioners will take care that the most convenient means shall be vsed." Mr. Pynchon was desired to send the bill to the Pocumtucks, with a demand from the commissioners for its payment, and it was at once dispatched after Stanton to Pocumtuck.

At the same session the commissioners also took peremptory action in regard to offenses by the Nipmucks at Quabague, the Niantics under Ninigret, and a remnant of the Pequots under Robin. One of the latter was imprisoned at Hartford for going with Uncas to war against the Pocumtucks. Measures were taken to secure the newly returned Podunks against the claims of other Indians, or of the rapacious English. The decided action of the commissioners and their impartial dealings with the other tribes had a salutary effect on the Pocumtucks. Stanton returned September 14th with a written message from these Indians in reply to the manifesto of the commissioners. This document was evidently penned by Stanton at the dictation of the chief sachem. In its style, the figurative language usually put into the mouth of the Indian speaker is notably absent. The paper is remarkable for a clear, dispassionate and comprehensive view of the trouble between the parties and a simple but politic answer to all charges against the Pocumtucks. It shows in the chief a mind well grounded in ethics, and able to deal with hard facts in a logical as well as a diplomatic manner. He addresses the "English Sachems" as his equals, and in no spirit of servility. Although he openly expresses his disinclination for war, he gives no evidence that he fears its consequences. This document is given in full:

"The old league of friendship betwixt the English and our selues, wee are resolved to keep; wee cannot charge the English with doeing vs any wronge, though our people haue mett with some particular abuses; but wee know they are not countenanced by the Gours for so doeing; alsoe some of our men that are younge and follish may haue done some particular wronge to some English; this should not breake the league betwixt vs and the English, seeing wee doe not countenance our men for soe doeing: As for Mr. Brewsters house, wee had Information that two of our emimies were gotten in there; and that they did furnish Vncas with Guns and powder and shott, as Mr. Thompson did, as two women did Relate to vs, when they came out of the flort to vs; these two men shott att vs from the other side of the Riuer; wherevpon our young men went ouer; and not finding them concluded they were received into the house.

The goods that were taken in an Indian sacke was not the Englishes, but our enemies, which was left there, Reveiled to vs by Wawequas' wife; And as for any wrong done to any of the English, itt is not done with a sett purpose to breake with the English; Neither for time to come will wee come with our armies neare the English

houses, neither will we meddle with any Indian that lives as a servant unto the English; nor any that plant on their ground, they having marks whereby wee may know them; as a white cloth in their Locke, or giueing their Names, whereby wee may know they are such Mohegans that fight not against vs.

As for the business of the mares, you may haue them—what was said against vs about them, was out of mistake, for they vnderstood not vs, nor wee them—as it is vsual for the English to speake much to vs that come—though they vnderstand little, what goods of the English that was stolen out of Mr. Brewster's house was Returned againe with a Reproofe to My men for that attempt and miscarriage of theirs in acting without My *priuie*; like mad men; and, therefore, as a year since at Niantic, when some damage was done to som wheat by our men's trampling vpon it; wee made satisfaction to the full of the Englishes demands; Soe shall wee doe for the future when wee are giuen to vnderstand what is Just to bee done by vs; and alsoe for any wrong done to Mr Brewster; but for the present we are Ignorant;—We desire the English Sachems not to purswade vs to a peace with Vncas—although hee promeseth much hee will performe nothinge; wee haue experience of his falcones; alsoe, wee desire that if any Messengers bee sent to vs from the English, they may bee such as are not lyares and tale carryers, but sober men; and such as wee can understand:

From Pocumtucke pr. me Thomas Stanton Sept 12, 1659."

With this dignified State paper the recorded correspondence with the Pocumtucks closed, and nothing is known of any subsequent wars between the Pocumtucks and the Mohegans. For a few years nothing relating to the history of the Pocumtucks is discovered. They next appear as aggressors of the Mohawks.

In 1663 the Pocumtucks are found allied with the Pennekooks and the Abenakis of the east, and with the Wappingers and Mahicans of the Hudson River. Events unknown to me having broken the friendship between the Pocumtucks and the Mohawks, the former, with their new allies, now invaded the country of the Mohawks with such success as to weaken and humble that tribe. The Dutch at Albany, to whom the Mohawks had been a bulwark against the French in Canada, at once took measures to end this war against their allies. In May, 1664, a party of Mohawks, with a deputation of Dutchmen, was sent over the mountain to meet the eastern tribes, probably at Pocumtuck. With the help of some of the English a treaty of peace was arranged, and the embassy returned to report its terms for the acceptance of the Mohawks. It appears that these were satisfactory, for on the 21st of June, 1664, Saheda, a "Mohawk prince," with a suitable retinue, left Albany for "Fort Pocomthe-

tuck" [*sic*], bearing presents for the ratification of the treaty and a ransom for their friends who had been taken captives.

The pride of the Pocumtucks had now reached that pitch which goeth before a fall. In their arrogance they not only refused to ratify the treaty of peace, but basely murdered the ambassador and his suite in cold blood. This offense, not less rank among savage than among civilized peoples, called for the direst vengeance. Events were conspiring to this end. In September of the same year, the Province of New York was surrendered by the Dutch to the English. September 24th a treaty of "peace and accommodation" between the new powers and the Mohawks was signed at Albany. The Mohawks were keen diplomats, and after a night's reflection they proposed new articles, which were accepted by the English and incorporated in the treaty, on the 25th.

By these new articles the English agree to make peace for the Mohawks with the Mahicans and other Hudson River tribes which had been in league with the Pocumtucks against them in the campaign of 1663. They also agree not to assist the Pennekooks, the Abenakis, or the Pocumtucks; and further, in case the Mohawks "be beaten by the three nations above mentioned, they may receive accommodation from the English."

Having thus shrewdly freed themselves from enemies near home, having secured the neutrality of the English, and made sure of a place of retreat in case of disaster, they sent an embassy to treat for peace with the French in Canada. The field being thus cleared for action, the Mohawks mustered a powerful force and marched to avenge the murder of Prince Saheda.

Local tradition has preserved an account of this inroad on the Pocumtucks. The principal stronghold of the tribe was on a bluff, about half a mile northeast of the Common in Deerfield, which is still called Fort Hill. On the approach of the enemy, the Pocumtucks gathered in this fort, upon which the Mohawks made a furious assault. They were repelled and driven off by the stout defenders. Their retreat was through Plain Swamp and across the North Meadows, towards Pine Hill. Here the Mohawks rallied and a hot engagement followed. The pursuers were broken and in turn

driven back to their fort, which, after a bloody struggle, was stormed and taken, and its inmates all slaughtered by the enraged Mohawks.

After burning the fort, the wigwams, and laying waste the corn-fields of the Pocumtucks, the victors swept northward, and the Squakeags were soon involved in the common ruin. Turning thence to the eastward, the Pennekooks and the Abenakis felt in turn the fury of the avengers, until blood enough had been shed to appease the manes of the murdered ambassador. So thoroughly was the work of the Mohawks done, that when, in 1665, the English from Dedham laid out the "8000 acre grant" at Pocumtuck, there was not a syllable in their report, or in the debates thereon in town meeting at Dedham, to indicate that a single wigwam or a single human being was found on this scene of desolation.

Thus fell the powerful Pocumtucks. In one fatal day their pride and strength were laid in the dust. The survivors were scattered, some to Canada and some to the Mahicans, on the Hudson. A feeble remnant, renouncing their independence, sought the protection of the English in the towns on the river below. Three original deeds, now in Memorial Hall, testify that within three years the deserted lands at Pocumtuck were sold to men of Dedham. The enervated remains of the Pocumtuck Confederation — rebelling against English domination — appeared for a few months in Philip's War. At its close the few miserable survivors stole away towards the setting sun and were forever lost to sight. Never again do we find in recorded history a single page relating to the unfortunate Pocumtucks.

JUNE 23, 1890. Adjourned meeting. Treasurer CHARLES MARSH read report showing receipts for the year were \$1,298.51, expenditures \$1,292.08.

JANUARY 19, 1891. Adjourned meeting. Rev. J. W. HARDING of Longmeadow read a paper on *The Stockbridge Indians*. Voted to petition the President of the United States to use whatever authority or influence that may be in his power to lift the Indian Civil Service entirely above and out of mutations of politics. Mr. HARDING's paper:

The Stockbridge Indians

IN learning how to civilize, educate, and christianize the Indian, the early Indian missions furnish instructive object lessons. A distinctive missionary element belonged to the colonial settlements of this country, and particularly to those of New England. Doctor Palfrey says, "The General Court of Massachusetts was the first missionary society in Protestant Christendom." As the result of the labors of such apostles to the Indians as John Eliot and the Mayhews, there were in Massachusetts in 1696 thirty Indian churches, for the most part supplied with active pastors, and three-fourths of the Indian population were accounted Christians. In 1700, thirteen missionaries, supported by government, were employed in English colonies. Meanwhile, "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England," incorporated in 1649, and the "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge," were nobly aiding these missionary efforts. The first-named society, through its Boston commissioners, Governor Belcher at their head, called John Sergeant from his tutorship in Yale College, to be a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, while the latter society employed David Brainerd, at Kaunameek, 20 miles west of Stockbridge, and afterwards among the Delawares.

The early successes and hopeful outlook of these missions in connection with their comparative failures in later times, suggest

important reflections, and point with serious emphasis certain questions relating to the future conduct of our efforts in the Indian's behalf. Among these object lessons it may be best to select one as on the whole the clearest and most impressive of them all, to wit: The History of the Stockbridge Indians.

They are survivors of the great Mohican nation who were once scattered over the territory between the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers. The remnant of them still existing to the number of about 170, counting in the Munsees who occupy the same reservation, are located in Shawano County, Wisconsin.

The most successful of the early attempts to christianize the Mohicans was made by the Moravians under the lead of Count Zinzendorf at Shcomeko, New York, on the east side of the Hudson. On an ancient tombstone in the Moravian cemetery at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is the following inscription: "In memory of Tschoop, a Mohican Indian, who in Holy Baptism, September 3, 1743, received the name of John. One of the first fruits of the mission at Shcomeko, and a remarkable instance of the power of Divine Grace by which he became a distinguished teacher among his people. He died in the full assurance of Faith at Bethlehem, October 10, 1768. There shall be one Fold and one Shepherd." This Indian was converted by the instrumentality of Christian Henry Rauch, a young Moravian missionary, but 22 years of age, who landed at New York, July 16, 1740. Meeting there two influential Mohicans, Tschoop and Shabash, who lived at Shcomeko, and with whom he could communicate in Dutch, he offered to become the teacher of their tribe. They were a drunken and degraded couple, and having at first accepted his offer and then rejected it, slunk away to their village. But Rauch followed them and preached Christ unto them. At first they mocked him, but his youthful earnestness, fearlessness, persistency, love and patience, at last touched their hearts. At a missionary conference held five years afterwards at Bethlehem, Tschoop thus described their experience: "Once a preacher came to us and wished to prove that there was a God. We said, 'Do you think that we do not know that?' Then another came and wished to teach us that we must not steal, drink, and lie.

We answered, 'You fool, do you think we do not know that? Teach it first to the people to whom you belong; for who drink, steal and lie more than your own people?' Then came Christian Henry into my hut and he said, "The Lord of Heaven bids me say to you that He wishes to deliver you from all your misery and make you blessed; wherefore He became man and shed His blood for you.' And when he had finished he lay down beside my tomahawk and bows and arrows, and slept as sweetly as a child. Then I thought what kind of a man is this? I could kill him, but he is without anxiety. I could not forget his words. In my sleep I dreamed of Christ, who shed his blood for me. Thus began the awakening among us. Therefore, I say, Brethren, preach Christ our Saviour, and His sufferings if you wish to reach the heathen heart."

The Shecomeko mission was greatly successful and spread eastward over into the Housatonic valley. In one settlement, Pachgatcock, near the present village of Kent, Connecticut, 120 Indians were baptized. The good work spread to other Indian settlements along the Housatonic. But by and by opposition became rife. Liquor dealers and licentious characters whose profits were in peril, banded themselves with well-reputed "church people," against the missionaries. They were decried as Papist and French spies (France being then at war with England), and driven out of Connecticut. The Assembly of New York resolved that their work must cease, and the sheriff closed their chapels in December, 1744. Then began the dispersion of the Christian Indians. Some followed their Moravian teachers into Pennsylvania, and others drifted up the Housatonic into the Stockbridge region. Five years after their banishment from Shecomeko the English Parliament issued a proclamation that the Moravians should not be further disturbed, but rather assisted in their work. But it was too late, for in New York covetous settlers had already divided the deserted land and property, and although in Connecticut the work was resumed and not without good fruit, yet by and by, death or emigration seemed to be the Indians' only alternative, and in 1770 the Moravian mission was finally abandoned. Its only existing memorials consist of a marble monument erected in 1859 which marks the grave of Pastor Buettner, the last Moravian

missionary at Shecomeko, in a field on the farm of Edward Hunting in Pine Plains township, Dutchess County, New York; and a monument erected the same year at Pachgatcock, two miles southwest of Kent, Connecticut, in memory of David Bruce and Joseph Powell, missionaries to the Indians once residing there.

Meanwhile a mission had been started from another source. Samuel Hopkins, the minister of West Springfield, hears through a neighbor of his, Ebenezer Miller, who is conversant with the "River Indians," that Konkapot, their principal man, a temperate, just and upright Indian, is inclined to embrace the Christian religion. But he has two objections, one the loss of influence among his people, the other, that the conversation of the Christians about him is worse than that of the heathen. Mr. Hopkins visits John Stoddard of Northampton, the man of all the region best versed in Indian affairs. He gives decided encouragement to the project of christianizing these River Indians. He next confers with Rev. Dr. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, one of the "redeemed captives." At their joint instance, Rev. Dr. William Williams of Hatfield writes to the commissioners of the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," at Boston, who at once request Williams and Mr. Hopkins to confer with the Indians on the Housatonic. Governor Belcher had just then conferred a captain's commission on Konkapot and a lieutenant's commission on another worthy and influential Indian, Umpachenee. Being then on their way to Springfield to receive their commissions, the two ministers meet them there, and lay before them the project of the mission. Captain Konkapot is quite earnest for it and Lieutenant Umpachenee does not oppose. They urge that the ministers should visit the tribe and hold a council. At the close of a four-days' council, all the Indians give their assent by signing a request for the mission, and the ministers receive a belt of wampum in confirmation of the agreement.

Next in order was the appointment by the Boston commissioners of John Sergeant, a tutor in Yale College, as missionary. A church was formed at the house of Lieutenant Umpachenee; a schoolmaster, Timothy Woodbridge, was employed as assistant missionary. Mr. Sergeant and delegates from his flock are invited to Deerfield, to

meet Governor Belcher and a large committee of the House of Representatives at an Indian council, which includes several tribes, to ratify a treaty of friendship and peace, and to ordain Mr. Sergeant. The services of ordination are held in the presence of the Boston dignitaries and Indian delegates, several of the neighboring ministers, and a large congregation of the townspeople. The sermon, afterwards published, was preached by Mr. Appleton of Cambridge.

There follows in due time the incorporation of Stockbridge as an Indian township. It is six miles square; ample allotments are reserved for Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Woodbridge, and also for four other English families to be settled among the Indians, as helpers in civilizing and christianizing them.

But will the Indians consent to the incorporation? A council was held February 10, 1735, to meet a committee of the Legislature. The Indians assent to the conditions of the Act; but there is necessary delay for sundry negotiations with certain English and Dutch proprietors who have settled in the Great Meadow. When the Indians are again summoned, all is not ready on their part; for designing whites have been poisoning their minds and prejudicing them against the Government. The subject being reopened before the council, Lieutenant Umpachenee wishes to ask three or four questions: "Why have they been neglected so long? What is the real reason that they had suddenly been brought into such favor? Why were they asked so many questions about the ownership of certain lands and the titles to them? Why, if the Christian religion is so good, did so many of its professors live such wicked lives? Would their titles secure to their children equal proprietary rights? Would their children be just as free as the white children?"

The outcome of it all was that the Massachusetts House of Representatives passed an Act very much like the "Dawes Bill" of our day, granting lands in severalty to the Stockbridge Indians, most carefully guarding their proprietary rights, and declaring that, "The Indian inhabitants of Stockbridge are, and shall be, subjected to, and receive the benefits of the laws of this government to all intents and purposes in like manner as others, His Majesty's subjects of this Province."

Timothy Dwight, son-in-law of Jonathan Edwards, was directed to repair at once to Stockbridge, and make the surveys and allotments to the Indians. They settled down upon their farms and labored industriously. They were at that time a temperate people. They built a church and a schoolhouse, which the neighboring whites appeared to have attended with them for many years. The English language was taught in the school, although Mr. Sergeant preached in Indian. They built frame houses at their own cost and furnished them comfortably. Several English families of the highest respectability, from Newton, Weston, and Watertown, moved in among them on invitation of the commissioners, as pattern farmers and housekeepers. They received encouraging gifts from friends in England, and the churches of New England. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel presented them £300, the first payment being in agricultural implements. Dr. Francis Ayscough, Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, gave to the church a Bible in two large folio volumes, elegantly abound and adorned with plates, still, it is said, in the proud possession of the Stockbridges, in Wisconsin. The noble schemes of General Armstrong at Hampton, and of Captain Pratt of Carlisle, were anticipated by Rev. Isaac Hollis of London, nephew of Thomas Hollis, the patron of Harvard College. He made ample provision for a boarding school, to train Indian boys and girls. Several boys and girls of promise were sent out into good families in Northampton, Longmeadow, Newington, Connecticut, and elsewhere.

In 1751 Jonathan Edwards became the pastor of the Stockbridge Indians. His influence over them was large and salutary. They became devotedly attached to him and his family. His preaching was not at all metaphysical or doctrinally severe, but very simple and catechetical. When he left his beloved Indian parishioners to take the presidency of Princeton College, he burst into a flood of tears. His successor, John Sergeant, Jr., was a good man and faithful missionary, although not the equal of his father. The Indians valued Jonathan Edwards more highly than either of the Sergeants.

What were the results of all this benevolent care and pains during the half century of their sojourn at Stockbridge? A large proportion

of them became church members. They shared with the whites in church and town offices. Along with selectmen Timothy Edwards, Elisha Brown, and Thomas Williams, were seated John Metoxin and Captain Wa-haun-wum-wan-meet. Hendrick Wohponseet was constable and tything man, and Captain Cheeksonkum was on the committee for seating the church. John Metoxin was surveyor of highways, and also a deacon. John Aupaumat, greatly beloved, was chorister and town clerk. His father, Captain Hendrich Aupaumat, was not only a sachem but an honorable and trusted officer in the army. In his personal appearance handsome and dignified, he was gifted as a speaker, remarkable for his perspicuity and sound sense. He wrote a history of his people. John Konkapot, son of the captain, graduated at Dartmouth College, as did also Peter Poquanopot and others. Another son of Captain Konkapot became a prosperous farmer in New York, employing several white laborers. The Quinney family, still represented at Shawano, in Wisconsin, have had a remarkable record. Joseph Quinney, elected chief sachem in 1777, is spoken of as being "a very modest, unassuming, sensible man," and his wife is described as "a venerable, good woman." Of Lydia Quinney, wife of Capt. Hendrich Aupaumat, it is said, "She was a godly woman; few such mothers in Israel bless our churches." Of Catherine Quinney, wife of Solomon Aupaumat, "a woman of peculiar sweetness of temper." Electa Quinney married a Methodist clergyman, Daniel Adams, a missionary to the Oneidas.

This is the bright side of the picture. Behold it for a moment ere it fades away! Stockbridge from 1736 to 1775. The Indian township duly incorporated and well equipped; a church, a common school, a boarding school; the best missionaries that ever were, Jonathan Edwards and the two Sergeants; an excellent schoolmaster, Timothy Woodbridge; sympathizing and generous friends at home and abroad; lands in severalty; all the preliminaries of civil life finished; the Indian property owners settled down on the fertile plain; the model farmers on the overlooking hill; the social environments of the best that New England life afforded.

Now look on the dark side of the picture. The Indians are all

gone. Not a trace remains save the frame of an old barn that once belonged to their meeting-house, and a cairn of rough stones to commemorate the fact that they once possessed the homesteads occupied by the present inhabitants, who hardly know how their titles were obtained.

How came these Indians to go? Why this failure of such bright beginnings? It is a sad story. Rum had much to do with it. One Van Valkenburg, who had been Captain Konkapot's trusted interpreter, not only refused to sell the farm which the Captain had given him, but kept a store of rum to sell, and even to give away to all whom he could persuade to drink. When the Indians, at the suggestion of the missionaries, laid a penalty of £40 upon any persons who should bring rum into Stockbridge for sale, and when the innkeepers in adjacent neighbors were remonstrated with for selling rum to Indians, they turned the tables by telling them how the missionaries were depriving them of their liberties, were using them worse than dogs or slaves. They encouraged their old-time frolics, feasts and carousals, and told them that that was "the way to test the length of their chain."

They had also respectable white neighbors who were covetous and not averse to trusting the Indians so as to get them into debt. And what was to be done in that case but to grant them permission to sell their lands! Not long ago an old musty volume was exhumed from long oblivion at Stockbridge, which illumines the processes by which the Indians were got ready for their exodus. It is entitled, "Book of Indian Proprietors." Out of a long list of recorded votes on the matter of Indian land sales, let two or three specimens suffice.

"Voted and granted to Elias and Benjamin Willard, 100 acres, in consideration of their discharging £50 debts due to them from sundry Indian proprietors."

Samuel Rowley is voted 100 acres in consideration of his paying £37 for Jacob Unkamug to liberate said Unkamug from prison.

The surveyors of the lands to be sold receive remarkably good compensation in kind. The Indians' doctors' bills, and the support of impecunious Indians are well paid for out of the land sales. A tavern keeper has an ox killed, presumably by an Indian, and is voted 100 acres. There being suspicions that the surveyors' meas-

urements of Indian lands to be sold exceed the just quantity, they are put under oath to be fair in the discharge of their trust. But the quantities of land sold continually become larger, and the Indians' possessions continually become less. Only the whites have the ready money for purchase, and so by degrees the Indians' original allotments are gobbled up, and they plunged into bankruptcy by their more sagacious neighbors. Jonathan Edwards, while he lived in Stockbridge, encountered bitter opposition from certain influential men, because he gave his staunch aid to guard the interests of his Indian parishioners.

There came in also, as other bad factors in the case, the frequent disturbances of war, the enlistment and dispersion of the able-bodied Indians as soldiers, the contaminations of the camp, its peculiar temptations to intemperance, the lack of restraints common to orderly society. Is it any wonder that with all these things against them, the Stockbridge tribe were glad to avail themselves of the friendly offer by the Oneidas of a share in their reservation in Central New York?

To follow them in the details of their successive uprootings and migrations from New Stockbridge in Madison County, New York, to Fox River, near Green Bay, on the west side of Lake Michigan, and from Fox River to the east side of Lake Winnebago, and thence to their present location in Shawano County, Wisconsin, would be the same sad story continued, with variations comparatively unimportant as related to our present purpose.

And yet with all that the Stockbridge Indians have suffered, there stands out in the history of the remnant that survive, poor, feeble and distracted as they are, conspicuous evidence of the lasting benefits received from their contact with the Christian people of Stockbridge. Said one of their missionaries thirty years ago: "I have been well acquainted with the early settlements of the whites in Wisconsin, and yet never knew a people who in their early settlements manifested such attachment to the institutions of religion. The Sabbath was universally kept sacred; intoxicating liquors were prohibited from being bought upon their lands; the women had started meetings for prayer, besides the Maternal Association, and

a meeting for improvement in sewing and dressmaking; fast and thanksgiving days were always observed as in New England. The men lived upon their farms and regarded hunting and fishing as uncertain employment; the Word of God was studied much and with reverence. Every family could read it. Great respect was paid to their religious teachers."

About three years ago an appeal came from the Stockbridge tribe to the American Missionary Association. One of its officers went to visit them. He found at that time many of their Indian neighbors on the Menomonee reservation in their blankets. Passing over to the Stockbridge, he found them in houses, constructed and furnished after the fashion of New England homes. They had a conference with him which was opened with prayer. Then they recounted their long-suffering history since their fathers left the Berkshire Hills. For seventeen years there had lived no white missionary among them. And yet their church, formed in 1734, had never lost its organization. There never had passed a single Sabbath without a religious service, nor a single week without a devotional meeting. Their earnest request was, "Send us a missionary. We will build him a house better than any on this reservation." They were asked, "Do you want a young man or an old man?" They replied, "We are living here alone all out of the world. Occasionally we hear something of the discussions that are going on in the religious world beyond us. If you send us a young man, we do not know but he will tell us things we have not believed before, and we may not be inclined to believe them now; but if you will send us a middle-aged or an older man, we will trust him." Being asked how they had conducted their Sabbath services, they showed a book of sermons that they had read through seven times for want of a fresh one.

The Stockbridges were at the time under the nominal care of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, to which application was made for a transfer of the mission to the American Missionary Association, but the Board declined and afterwards provided for them an excellent missionary.

What are the practical lessons to be emphasized by the lights

and shadows of this history of commingled success and failure, but more fraught with warning and reproof than it is with inspiration?

I. That the Indian, especially when taken at his youth time and in this pliable age, is abundantly capable of becoming a worthy and useful citizen, not an American Indian, but an Indian American. As the experience of the Stockbridge township proves, he is capable of being completely incorporated into our body politic, and of holding his own honorable place among selectmen, assessors, surveyors, deacons, captains, or anywhere else in church or state.

II. That his tribal isolation on government reservations, with the contingent liabilities of being at any time uprooted, and the surety of being kept in swaddling clothes and pauperized through the lack of manly incentive, is also ruinous.

III. That in his present critical position, the public sentiment of the American people should in every possible way be aroused and focused upon the government to press upon our legislators and executive their imperative and vigilant responsibility of instructing, protecting, assisting and encouraging the Indian as his weakness and ignorance demand, and as all noble considerations oblige, in order that he shall make the best of himself and his children, and the best use also of the money and the lands which are not the white man's gift, but rightfully his own.

IV. That the only sure and lasting hope for him is in his permanent contact with a truly Christian civilization, whose representatives, as preachers, teachers, and neighbors shall touch his life at all points, as the Sergeants, and Jonathan Edwards, and his Christian neighbors of Stockbridge touched him, when virtue went out of them into his life, and would have blessed him and his children and children's children even to this day, had not covetousness uprooted him, and a selfish greed trampled him under foot unceasingly.

FEBRUARY 16, 1891. A paper was read by Rev. E. H. BYINGTON entitled *The Early Puritan Ministers of New England*.

MARCH 23, 1891. Special meeting. A paper was read by Judge A. M. COPELAND entitled *The History of Murrayfield from its incorporation, September 3, 1765, to the division of the Town, March, 1773*.

JUNE 9, 1891. Adjourned meeting. Officers elected for the ensuing year as follows:

President, Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Dr. WILLIAM RICE, Judge WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF, Hon. EPHRAIM W. BOND, Hon. GEORGE D. ROBINSON, Chicopee, E. B. GILLET, Westfield, W. B. C. PEARSONS, Holyoke, Rev. L. C. SEELYE, Northampton, Rev. GEORGE M. STEELE, Wilbraham, Hon. LEVI STOCKBRIDGE, Amherst, S. O. LAMB, Greenfield, CHARLES L. GARDNER, Palmer, Rev. J. W. HARDING, Longmeadow, Mr. N. FLYNT, Monson, R. O. DWIGHT, South Hadley Falls, HENRY F. BROWN, Brimfield; H. S. SHELTON, Suffield, Connecticut.

Clerk, EDWARD MORRIS.

Treasurer, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Executive Committee: JAMES KIRKHAM, C. W. BRYAN, A. M. COPELAND, E. S. BRADFORD, E. B. MAYNARD, H. S. LEE.

DECEMBER 7, 1891. Judge A. M. COPELAND, CLARK W. BRYAN, HENRY M. BURT appointed a committee on publication.

FEBRUARY 27, 1892. Special meeting. A paper relative to *Springfield in Olden Times* was read by HENRY M. BURT. Mr. EDWARD W. TRYER of England was present at the meeting. Mr. BURT's paper:

Springfield in Olden Times

IN accepting your invitation, I confess to a feeling of inability to thoroughly treat of a subject which cannot be understood without devoting years to research and study. A full understanding of the contemporaneous history, not only of the towns of the Connecticut valley, but of those along the seaboard of New England, is absolutely necessary to a correct interpretation of the events which occurred more than 250 years ago. These settlements were more or less closely interwoven in interests and we cannot rightly understand one without intimate knowledge of the other.

Plymouth historians have written histories to correct history, and yet, no doubt, there remains much to be told. Not long since, that distinguished orator, one of the foremost of our country, Chauncey M. Depew, gave an interesting address on Forefathers' Night in New York, in which he said, "Nothing has contributed so much to false history as the misuse of words"; and yet, like many who have preceded him, he went on to treat of the Pilgrims and the Puritans as one and the same, when everyone who has studied Pilgrim history knows that the two were entirely distinct in aims and purposes. The Pilgrim was a Separatist. He went out from the old church because he believed it impossible to reform it. The Puritan was for remaining inside and conducting its reformation from within. Much has been said concerning the intolerance and bigotry of the Pilgrim. It was the Puritan who was narrow and contracted in his view, and it was he who drove from the Massachusetts Colony those who did not agree with his theological conceptions. The Pilgrim molested no one so long as there was no attempt to prevent his enjoying and continuing to enjoy the purposes for which he came. What could be more liberal and truly catholic in spirit than this utterance of John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim flock, the night before its

departure from Delfthaven: "And if God should reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth in my ministry. I am confident that the Lord hath more light and truth yet to break out his holy word."

The early settlers of the valley of the Connecticut were men of high character and inspired with a great purpose, and yet they were plain, simple men, unlearned in many things, when we compare them with the present standard of civilization. While we shall ever admire their courage and determined purpose, it is not necessary, in forming an opinion of them, to clothe them with all the high attainments of the present day. Neither should we feel chagrined or disappointed if we find among them many who knew little of that education which comes from books. Most of them were young men, under thirty, who had come to build a church, establish a community and to serve God and their fellow-men. A third or more of the men who were heads of families could not write their names, and among them were four who served in the office of selectmen,—Miles Morgan, whose statue adorns our Court Square; Robert Ashley, frequently prominent in town affairs; Deacon Benjamin Cooley, who is highly honored by his worthy descendants; and Nathaniel Burt of Longmeadow, the youngest son of Henry Burt the immigrant; and yet these men were useful citizens and served the town with fidelity, and must have been highly respected by their associates. Longmeadow, a few years after the death of Nathaniel Burt, erected a monument to his memory in its village cemetery, for his liberality in donating a large amount in lands for the benefit of the schools of the town. In justice to some of these and to others who made their mark, it is quite probable that they could read if they could not write. As to the women only a few could write, and the records in the Court House show that the wives of Deacon Samuel Chapin, William Wariner, Henry Burt, Miles Morgan and Joseph Parsons, and others, made their mark when they signed legal documents. It is probable that not over half a dozen women in Springfield, previous to 1660, could write their names. Sylvester Judd, the most reliable historian that the Connecticut valley has yet produced, states in his "History of Hadley" (pp. 64-5) that "it seems to have been con-

sidered unnecessary that girls should be instructed in public schools," and that "probably not one woman in a dozen could write her name" prior to 1700; and that at a much later time, during the Revolution, "very many of those wives and mothers whose patriotism is so justly praised, could not write, but they could read. Some men of several generations made their mark."

We had supposed that John Pynchon was an educated and highly learned man. As compared with some of them he was, but I have found in a single record of less than half a dozen lines that he spelled "meadow" in three different ways, and his orthography in other respects would today be considered shocking. His brother-in-law, Elizur Holyoke, appears to have been a better scholar, and yet he had no rule which governed him in orthography,—a characteristic prominent in all the records, by whomsoever written. These people were like those from whence they came. At that time comparatively few were educated in England beyond the mere rudiments. Doctor Johnson's great dictionary was not published for more than a hundred years after these men landed on our shores. There was no uniformity in spelling at that time in England or America. Names and words were written as they sounded to each writer. There was comparatively little use for education two and three hundred years ago. We had here few books and no newspapers. It was more than fifty years after the first settlement in Springfield when the first newspaper was printed in New England. There were no post-offices and no means of conveying letters to near or distant friends except by private hands. Neighborhood concerns, the church and town affairs, were all there was to engross the mind or quicken its activity.

"The early schoolbooks of New England," says Mr. Judd, "were the same as those of Old England." John Locke, in his "Thoughts Concerning Education," 1690, says, "The method of schools in England, in teaching children to read, has been to adhere to the 'ordinary road of the Hornbook, Primer, Psalter, Testament and Bible.' "These," he says, "were the only books used 'to engage the liking of children and tempt them to read.' The 'ordinary road' was the same in New England, and the same books were used in

Hadley and other [Connecticut valley] towns."¹ Hornbooks and Primers, Testaments and Bibles were sold by John Pynchon. The Hornbook in shape was something like a hand mirror. It contained the alphabet, the digits and sometimes the Lord's Prayer, printed on one side of the sheet, and covered with translucent horn to prevent its destruction by careless children. The early primers were imported from England and were probably Puritan primers.

In 1647 Massachusetts enacted a law ordering every town with fifty families to provide a school where its children should be taught to read and write. In England the distinct object of a grammar school was instruction in Greek and Latin, especially in Latin. This probably accounts for the frequent use of Latin terms in some of our early records.

The early settlers of the Connecticut valley as well as elsewhere in New England were terribly in earnest concerning the mere getting of a living. Existence troubled them more than education or speculative philosophy, outside of religious questions. But with all their discouragements, the first thing after the church came the school. Provision for training and educating the children was one of the first duties of the settlers, showing that even then they had a high sense of the advantages of education.

The New England settlers who were first to arrive were mostly from the yeomanry of England, and they, and not the cavaliers, were the true nation builders. They were the rough diamonds which time polished and strengthened. Their descendants followed in their footsteps, making New England what she has been and what she is. They planted the school and the church and those examples of government which have ever characterized her in the entire belt of country, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from which there have been carved the magnificent states that today are making America known and felt throughout the civilized world.

To rightly understand our forefathers, we must go back to England from which they came. When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Shakespeare had been dead only four years. With the exception of that great interpreter of human thought and feeling, Bacon and

¹ *History of Hadley*, page 69.

one or two others, the intellectual lights of England sprung into fame after the first settlers came to Springfield. Then began the formative period in England and America. Turn over the records of our own town in its earlier day, now in the City Hall; go into the manuscript room of the British Museum, and you will note a striking resemblance in style of penmanship, originating both here and in England in the same period, showing that the education that our first settlers received, came from similar schools and by similar methods practiced throughout England. It has been said that the only autograph of Shakespeare indicated illiteracy. If compared with the present standard the statement might have some weight. Some of the peculiarities found in Deacon Chapin's hand suggest that Shakespeare had received training in penmanship from a similar school. Wander up and down the streets of London at the present time and note its alleys and byways, and then come back to Boston, and you will find a smaller London with crooked streets, haphazard location of buildings, and the alleyways that you have just seen in the great city by the river Thames. Go to Marblehead and Portsmouth and you will find a reproduction of the smaller cities of England. Everything here originating in our early history relating to material things, sprung from the practical side of English life. Our ancestors brought with them the habits and opinions which had been formed in England. Such a thing as drawing a straight line, when they laid out the streets of our towns, did not occur to them as necessary. You can hardly find a straight line of early origin until you cross the Hudson. It took New World growth and education to give us geometrical lines in our street and village boundaries. Look at our own Main street; the course of Town Brook and the contour of the high land upon which they located their home lots determined its direction. If the curve is the true line of beauty, then our Main street will be a "joy forever."

If you take the trouble to study the early land records of Springfield, you will have occasion to ask, "Why did not they take their allotments of land in larger pieces than was given to each?" You will observe that they were given a piece here and a piece there, exceeding only a few acres in each instance, scattered from Long-

meadow to Chicopee Plain, both on the east and west sides of the Connecticut. Fear of Indians may suggest the reason to your minds of their living in a compact settlement, but why should they have had fear of the Indians whom they had treated justly and had not sold to them nor taught them the use of firearms until a long period after their coming to Springfield? In England the villages were largely merely hamlets, occupied by an agricultural population and divided into hundreds; that is, a village having theoretically a hundred inhabitants, which still exists in some parts of England. You have an example nearer home, though an English possession, in Bermuda Hundred. The small allotments to many tenants of some of the large estates in England might have suggested these parcels of land here. Then, too, there was a desire that each settler should have a fair proportion of our choicest land. These meadows which are still the best agricultural portion of New England were then meadows, and it was these which brought the first white settlers to the Connecticut valley. A spirit of fairness ran through all the transactions of the first settlers. One cannot go over them without feeling that the settlers were animated by a high sense of justice and fairness to all.

Outside of William Pynchon and his son, John Pynchon, who was the representative of his father's wealth, the settlers were all in very moderate pecuniary circumstances. It is probable that scarcely any of them were worth twenty pounds, and had nothing but their hands with which to create wealth. They were judged by their earning capacity, their good judgment and general intelligence as intelligence was held in those days. Sound judgment, no doubt, had its weight in the selection of men to public office. John Pynchon rose to prominence in this community through the wealth that his father left him when he went back to England. He was the only one who could grant favors to the settlers. He kept the store upon which all relied for many of the necessities of life. He sold rights to trade with the Indians, and patronage flowed into him from Wethersfield on the south to Northfield on the north. He was the great man of this valley in trade, in government and in church. His prototype of more recent times will be found in the country squire

in the more distant villages of New England, and fifty years ago in the States of New York, Ohio and the West. He was a man of large ability, shrewd in his business transactions and of great help to the community. He gave the settlers credit in all instances, as little or nothing was bought in those days strictly for cash; there was little or no money in circulation. He sold them goods and took in payment farm products, labor, and wampum. The latter was made of seashells gathered from the Connecticut coast for Pynchon, and put out with the settlers to be strung into fathoms by the women and children. He paid Henry Burt at the rate of a penny a fathom, £18 19s. 15d. during the years of 1653, '55, '56, and '58, for stringing 3093 fathoms, which would reach in a single line from Springfield to Chicopee. Pynchon had strung for him over 20,000 fathoms by the various settlers, but the supply exceeded the demand and this too "free coinage" of our ancestors soon destroyed the value of wampum as a circulating medium.

Villages of fifty inhabitants were generally formed whenever that number could be gathered together. If original ideas were put in practice, they were suggested by the exigencies of the time. In one particular our settlers improved over the customs of England, and that is in the registering of land titles. There is not, at the present time, such an officer as Register of Deeds or one corresponding to it, in England. No deeds are recorded there. If a piece of ground is sold the purchaser takes all the deeds held by the seller of the land, and this goes on through every transfer of title. In England the change of ownership in landed property is far less frequent than with us. Ownership there, until within comparatively few years, has come mostly from inheritance through the eldest son. The question of registering titles in England has begun to agitate the public mind. Four years ago such a proposition was seriously considered, but its passage through the House of Commons was impeded from the fact that too many in England had been living beyond their income and were anxious to avoid having their pecuniary affairs become neighborhood gossip. Out of deference to the feelings of the spendthrifts who never earned a dollar, there is a proposition to have all land titles recorded after the first sales.

Here in New England a record of all transfers of land became absolutely important to prevent conflict and to preserve undisputed titles. When William Pynchon obtained permission to settle here upon the Connecticut, he and the few with him made the purchase of these lands of the Indians. Payment was made to the Indians out of his store of goods. This Indian purchase was apportioned among the settlers, who paid it to Pynchon in work or in whatever they might have to sell, in the course of a few years; so that the inhabitants of the town and not Pynchon were the owners of land who granted allotments to newcomers in accordance with their standing and worth and who shared in the cost of the original purchase. It was a condition that each one receiving an allotment should reside in the town and cultivate the land for five years. If he should leave before that date he must resign the land back into the town's hands. Some of the very first settlers who received allotments sold their improvements with the town's permission, and left for other places. After the settlers had occupied their lands five years and paid their portion of the Indian purchase, the title to it rested in them. They were often pressed for means of living and frequently sold or made exchanges of some of their less important tracts. This soon occasioned the necessity of having the description and boundaries defined and recorded. This was the origin of the registry of deeds in New England, an office not peculiar to any one settlement, but common to all.

What were the motives which led our ancestors to leave England and settle in this unbroken and unknown wilderness? They no doubt sprung from two causes—a desire for a larger religious freedom, and to better their financial conditions. They who came here were undoubtedly poor in purse but determined in spirit. The austere and unrelenting purpose of those who controlled and directed England, turned the thoughts of the poor and dependent towards that truth which has made New England what it is. To escape that tyranny, where there could be common fellowship and a common purpose, they turned their steps toward the New World, sundering all the ties which had bound them to home.

The hope of finding a northwest passage to the Indias inspired

the Dutch to make a voyage of exploration. They had begun settlements on the banks of the Hudson. John Smith had coasted up and down New England before the Pilgrims left Holland, and it was his map that made New England in a measure familiar to the Old World. It was he who named Cape Ann, the river Charles and Plymouth, the only names that still stand of the many which were placed on his map. So it was not the Pilgrims who named our Plymouth from the Plymouth they last set sail from in England. The perversity of the Dutch skipper had much to do in casting them upon the bleak New England shore, where they worked out a purpose far-reaching and beyond what they could have possibly anticipated. Those noble men, largely actuated by religious desire to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience and make a community in which their youth could be trained in accordance with their opinions, were the first to attract that tide of emigration out of Puritan ranks to this country, and although the latter were not so broad in their charities and so unselfish in purpose, from them have come a people who have worked out a glorious problem, and one which will ever be the guiding purpose of the civilized world.

• Table forks and earthen plates were not used by the first settlers, and the store accounts I have examined do not reveal that any were sold to them previous to 1680. The table customs in the time of our ancestors would now indicate lack of refinement and good breeding. If we should go back 250 years and find the Worshipful Major John Pynchon, Deacon Samuel Chapin, Elizur Holyoke, William Warriner, Henry Burt, Mr. Moxon or his successor, Pelatiah Glover, or other good men of the town, gathered round the family board, and observe each helping himself from a common dish, cutting the meat on his own trencher with the right hand and carrying it to the mouth with the fingers of the left, what would you think? It would, no doubt, suggest a rude and uncultivated condition, and not a little shock your sense of propriety; but even this habit need not fall harshly upon your sensibilities. Table forks were not introduced into England until after the Pilgrim Fathers had landed at Plymouth, and it must have been many years after that date before they came into common use in America. Pewter platters and wooden trenchers

were first used here, long before earthenware entered into general family use. Spoons and knives were sold to the settlers almost from their first arrival; but no mention of sale is made of forks, crockery, glassware, or household furniture. The scant amount of household furniture used in those days must have been made by the settlers themselves, and their chairs or benches and bedsteads were of primitive character. Major Pynchon, receiving in payment of a store account, gave Goodman Pope credit, "By a table for my parlor chamber, £2 10s.; for a trundle-bedstead, 8s."

Massachusetts is one of the few States of the Union that assesses a poll tax. Its origin in this country must have gone back to an early day. There is still a list in the tax collector's office in Springfield of individual estates of the inhabitants who resided here in 1685, made by the selectmen, in which is given a schedule of property. In that estimate of the estates of the plantation, "Men's houses and lands" were given, and "men's persons," to quote from it, "were valued as estates," and these are made in reference to the raising of "town rates." The value of polls is given at £8, £10, and £12, mostly at £8. Against a few a cipher was placed. It would appear from this that instead of having a fixed sum, as at present, the value of the poll was rated according to the earning capacity of the individual. If it was an old and infirm man who was any way disabled, the value of the poll was placed at a smaller amount and on this amount was levied what they termed "rates" or taxes, as we should now say. The term "rate" is still in common use in England. It was deemed just that each individual should contribute something towards the support of the town, and the capacity to earn should share as well as realty in all necessary expenses of the town. In addition to the expense of maintaining the town government there was a rate fixed for maintaining the Colonial Government at Boston. This was styled "The Country Rate," which was paid in Boston by Major Pynchon, generally in wheat shipped down the Connecticut River to Hartford in canoes and then transferred to sailing craft and taken around to Boston. This expense was charged by Pynchon to the inhabitants, who paid him in farm products or in labor.

In this estimate of estates, from which the above was taken, a

valuation of 10s. was placed on sawmills, and about every inhabitant at the head of a family appears to have owned a sawmill; but they were not, however, operated by water power. It was a primitive affair, a sort of frame on which logs were rolled. Underneath it was a pit in which one of the sawyers stood, with another on top of the log who drew the saw up after the one at the bottom had drawn it down. When the settlers came to this country, boards were sawed in England by hand, and there were no other mills here, either in the Massachusetts or Connecticut colony, until after a considerable period from the beginning of the first settlement. The wages of the sawyers were at first regulated by the colonies. The top-man—who was on top of the log and guided the work—received a little more in wages than the pit-man, who was in the pit below. The two men would saw about a hundred feet of boards per day, for which one received 2s. and the other 2s. 6d. The first sawmill in Springfield operated by water power was built by John Pynchon in 1667, thirty-one years after the settlement of the town. The first in New England was on a branch of the Piscataqua River, built in 1633, and operated by Danes.

The course of Main street, as established by William Pynchon and his colony nearly 260 years ago, remains substantially unchanged in its general direction. The home lots were laid out on the west side of Main street and extended to the Connecticut River, a distance of about 80 rods. The majority of them were eight rods in width and contained four acres each. Those at the north end of the town, which were wider, were not so deep. Directly opposite the home lots on the east side of the street was a tract of low, wet ground,—evidently, at a time long before the settlers came, the channel of the Connecticut River. This tract of land was what was designated as "Wet Meadow." From the street eastward 120 rods distant, the settlers were granted land of the same width as their home lots. Of this piece the first 40 rods, making two acres, was "Wet Meadow." The remaining 80 rods was woodland, from which they obtained their supply of firewood. The east end of their lands reached to a point a little beyond the present line of Myrtle street and the present western boundary of the United States Army grounds. These

grants, including home lot, Wet Meadow and woodland, amounted to about ten acres for each head of a family.

On the west side of the Connecticut each settler was given planting ground 8 rods in width and 80 rods in length, each lot containing four acres. These planting lots were located directly opposite the home lots. The order of ownership was in most cases the same over the river, at Longmeadow and at the north end of the town as prevailed here in the center of the village. If Deacon Wright had Rowland Stebbins for his neighbor on the north in the home lot, he had him also as an adjoining owner on his north boundary elsewhere.

The convenience of these lands will be understood as regards the home lots when you note that each settler had only to go up to the rising ground on the east to secure his firewood, or to take his canoe at the river end of his home lot and paddle across the Connecticut to his planting ground.

The home lots of the first settlers, or those who followed soon after, extended from what is now Holyoke street on the north to York street and Mill River on the south. William Pynchon and his sons-in-law, Elizur Holyoke and Henry Smith, received larger and more desirable tracts of land, but to the others the allotments were fair and equal. Beginning at the north end on what is now Holyoke street, was first located Richard Maund. His lot was ten rods in width, as were eight others next south of him. The next neighbor on the south was Abel Wright, whose lot extended from a point a little north of Vine street to nearly down to Clinton street. Simon Sackett, Obadiah Miller, Hugh Dudley, Samuel Terry, John Stewart and Simon Beaman were the next in order. Beaman's lot came down to the north boundary of Cypress street. The next lots south were owned by Francis Pepper, Miles Morgan and John Searle. John Searle's lot was where the granite block of the Boston and Albany railroad now stands. Next south of this, a lot fourteen rods in width, covering the ground now occupied by the Boston and Albany railroad and the Massasoit House property, was first given to John Cable, who accompanied Pynchon here on his first visit, and who was one of the signers to the original compact. In 1642

he sold this lot and other lands to the town, and the following year the town sold them to Thomas Cooper, who became one of the active and useful men of the community. At the age of eighteen he sailed from London, March 16, 1635, in the "Christian," with John and Francis Stiles and others, and the party who accompanied them were the first permanent settlers at Windsor, Connecticut. He was apprenticed to Francis Stiles after his arrival in this country, to be taught the trade of a carpenter. He was first known as Ensign and afterwards as Lieutenant Cooper. He devoted much of his time to trading with the Indians up and down the Connecticut River, under privileges granted to him by Pynchon. When Springfield was attacked by the Indians, October 5, 1675, he rode down to the Indian fort on Long Hill to learn the strength and purposes of the Indians. He was fired upon and wounded, and fell dead from his horse just as it reached the village on its return.

The next lot south of Cooper's, extending from Lyman street down to Worthington, was given to William Pynchon, thirty rods in width on Main street. The present postoffice building stands on this lot. The next two south were given to the sons-in-law of William Pynchon, the first to Elizur Holyoke, reaching to Bridge street, the next to Henry Smith, extending down the street to a point a little south and opposite Hillman street. These were twenty rods in width. The next lot was granted to the first minister of the town, George Moxon, and was fourteen rods in width, extending south to a point nearly opposite Harrison avenue. Deacon Samuel Chapin had the next lot, eight rods in width, running to Pynchon street. Richard Exell, Richard Sykes and William Warriner were granted the next lots in the order named, extending to Court Square. The ground now occupied by Court Square, ten rods in width, was first given to Henry Gregory, but he sold his improvements and the lot passed to the ownership of Thomas Stebbins, known as Lieutenant Stebbins, who appears to have resided there until his death which occurred at an advanced age. On a part of this lot, on its southern side, a short distance west of Main street, was located the First Church. From the southern side was taken a part of the lane leading to the training field which afterwards became the first burying ground in

Springfield, and this lane, subsequently widened, became what is now known as Elm street.

The next lot, beginning on the south side of what is now Elm street, was granted to John Woodcock. He was given to litigation and not a particularly desirable inhabitant. He sold his improvements to Francis Ball, the ancestor of those bearing that name now in this vicinity. Francis Ball married Abigail, a daughter of Henry Burt. He was drowned in the Connecticut four years after marriage, and she married a second time Benjamin Munn, who had come here from Hartford, Connecticut, and previously was one of Captain Mason's company in the Narraganset expedition when the Pequots were attacked and hundreds of them slaughtered. He died in 1675, leaving a family of several children, one of whom, Nathaniel Munn, was honored and respected as deacon of the First Church. Benjamin Munn's widow married for a third husband Lieut. Thomas Stebbins, her next-door neighbor on the north. The Chicopee Bank, the Walker building, Court Square Theatre block and the Court House, now stand on the Francis Ball lot.

Robert Ashley owned the next lot south, reaching down to State street. John Leonard and Thomas Mirrick's lots were the next in order, extending to Bliss street. The next lot was first given to Thomas Horton, but he sold to James Bridgman. Alexander Edwards owned the next lot. He came from Wales, and after residing here for some time removed to Northampton. The next lot, extending to Howard street or a little below, was owned by John Clarke. Widow Deeble owned the next lot, extending from Howard street to a point nearly opposite Park street. The Hon. George Bliss, in an appendix to his address delivered on the opening of the Town Hall in 1828, assigns the ownership of the next lot to Morgan Johns with "a small space in front." In my researches I have not as yet been able to find that his home lot was located at this place. The next lot on the south was granted to Rowland Stebbins, and the next to Deacon Samuel Wright, which brings us down to Union street. Deacon Wright afterward moved to Northampton and was one of its most respected citizens. His sons Samuel and Benjamin were among the first settlers of Northfield. Samuel was killed there by

the Indians, and Benjamin was long famous as an Indian scout, leading many parties through Northern Vermont in pursuit of the Indians.

The next lot, covering the ground between Union and Wilcox streets and possibly extending a little farther south, was granted to Henry Burt, the ancestor of all bearing that name in this region. Then came the lots of John Harmon, Nathaniel Pritchard, Nathaniel Bliss and George Langton. John Harmon was the ancestor of the Harmons, and one or more of his sons were among the first settlers of Suffield. Nathaniel Bliss was a son of Widow Margaret Bliss. Langton, sometimes written "Lancton," removed to Northampton. The next lot was first given to Thomas Thompson. He did not remain long and his lot was given to Widow Margaret Bliss, the ancestress of the Blisses who have since resided here. She and her husband, Thomas Bliss, came from England to Braintree, Massachusetts. They removed from there to Hartford, where he died about 1644. After that she and some of her children, who were unmarried, came to Springfield. Her sons Nathaniel, Lawrence, Samuel and John were well known here as active and useful citizens.

The next lot on the south was granted to John Taylor, and the next to John Matthews. It was Matthews who beat the drum up and down Main street to call the settlers to church on Sundays and to meetings on lecture days, for which he took his pay in wampum. South of John Matthews' lot was located Griffith Jones. Then came the lot of Reice Bedortha, who was the ancestor of those of that name still residing in this region. He and his son John and the wife of his son Joseph, to quote from the town records as written by John Holyoke, "were drowned dead in the Connecticut River, March 18, 1683." They were crossing the Connecticut in a canoe. His lot extended south to the present Lombard street. The next lot below was given to Deacon Benjamin Cooley, a highly respected citizen, who for several years was one of the selectmen of the town.

As to the ownership of the tract covering three or four lots below Deacon Cooley's, I am not as yet certain. Below them, and extending to Broad street, was the lot given to Jonathan Burt, the eldest

son of Henry Burt, who became a deacon of the First Church and was for several years town recorder and one of the selectmen. His son Henry Burt was also a deacon of the First Church. The lot next south of Jonathan Burt's was given to Hugh Parsons. Hugh and his wife Mary became notorious in connection with their trials for witchcraft. Hugh Parsons was examined for witchcraft by William Pynchon, at great length, and many of the residents of the town were summoned to appear before him to give their testimonies concerning the charge. His trial at Boston and that of his wife took place afterwards. Both were acquitted of witchcraft, but the wife was found guilty of killing her child, on her own acknowledgment, and sentenced to be hung. She, however, died in prison before the day fixed for her execution. Hugh never returned to Springfield, and it is stated that he went to Long Island. Jonathan Burt purchased his improvements and became the owner of his lot, where he resided until his death. It remained in the ownership of his descendants until a few years since.

John Lombard, found in the early records written "Lumbard," was the owner of the next lot extending south to York street. This is as far as I have been able, with the time I have had, to locate the early settlers of Springfield. The bounds were frequently imperfectly stated, or related to some perishable object in the description. After more than 250 years since the boundaries were established, it is not easy to locate them by a white oak tree or a pine staddle.

The preceding reference to Hugh Parsons brings to mind the little that has been mentioned of others bearing this family name by our local historical writers. Hugh was by no means the only Parsons who was here as a resident of the town after its first settlement. There was Joseph Parsons, who has still many descendants in this vicinity. He brought with him from England the military title of Cornet, a trooper of cavalry and a commissioned officer who carried the standard. He married Mary, daughter of Widow Margaret Bliss, at Hartford, November 26, 1646, and went to Northampton to live shortly after the settlement of the town in 1654. Besides having interest in lands, he was an Indian trader. He paid John Pynchon £12 a year for the privilege of buying beaver skins of the

Indians at Hadley and of those living still farther up the Connecticut. He bought trading cloth of John Pynchon, which he exchanged with the Indians for beaver skins. The skins he sold to Pynchon in payment of goods. It appears that Pynchon not only fixed the price of his cloth, but determined the price of the skins, and no doubt made a good profit at both ends of the bargain. Eight shillings a pound was then the price of beaver skins, and each skin weighed a little more than a pound. Joseph Parsons finally returned to Springfield and died here October 9, 1683, and his wife Mary, January 29, 1712. An inventory of his estate is still on record at the probate office at Northampton, which shows that he was possessed of many acres of land, and that his estate was valued at £2080, a little more than \$10,000, which was one of the largest estates probated at that time.

There also lived here Benjamin Parsons, who was a deacon in the First Church, and prominently mentioned in town affairs. He reared a family of children and died August 24, 1689.

The Bay Path, which I suppose is now State street, was laid eastward from Main street, over the Wet Meadow and wood lots given to Robert Ashley and John Leonard, the boundary line between them forming the center of the street, or Path, as it was then designated.

Our beautiful Connecticut was often designated in the records as the "Great river." The name "Connecticut" was frequently written in various ways by the same recorder. In the various peculiarities of spelling there were some striking examples which all of them indulged in. John Pynchon frequently put a "d" into "large" and into "voyage" and wrote "fadam" for fathom. The idiosyncrasies in the different methods of spelling were as noticeable in one as another of the various persons who were chosen by the town to "enter things." Springfield was often incorrectly written, the "e" frequently preceding the "i." If the descendants of John Lombard find his name invariably written "Lumbard" in the early records, and those of Reice Bedortha in more ways than anyone of them has fingers, they need not feel that the early writers knew more about the correct way of spelling those names than they do at the present day. This brings to mind what a descendant of John Bagg, the

ancestor of all the Baggs in this region, recently said to me,—“The Baggs used to spell their names with one “g.” So wrote John Pynchon and others in the records of the town, and they also wrote Ball and hill each with one “l,” and if one “l” was sufficient in Ball and hill at that time, it was probably considered that one “g” was enough in the spelling of Baggs. To us the use of the letters which they omitted looks better, and is just as correct.

These generalities and incidents which I have given are only a small part of what might be woven into the story of the lives of our ancestors. Perhaps they builded wiser than they knew, but they must have had a great purpose in coming to America. In their acts and deeds they were always true to the convictions which exemplified their lives. We look back upon the past, with their privations, often with sorrow for what they must have endured. But great as was that privation, the hour of their supreme heroism was when, in response to a conviction, they sundered the ties which bound them to home and kindred, and stepped upon the little vessels that were to bear them across the broad and stormy Atlantic, to find a rude home on the desolate shores of New England. With what great sorrow must they have sundered those ties, knowing full well that they should never look upon the faces of kindred again! The men and women who did that were actuated by a higher purpose than the mere love of gain. It was the voice from within which appealed to them, and which said, “Go forth and uphold a great living principle.” The first settlers of New England were from Old England’s choicest grains. England at that time, in point of intellectual and humanitarian development, had risen only breast-high, and out of that condition came our ancestors. If they were not so broad and so charitable in their views as have become their descendants, we must not forget the conditions that surrounded their early lives. That pilgrimage which they began has revolutionized the world. They aimed high and accomplished much.

I will not at this time enter into any detailed description of the various business transactions which took place between the settlers, during the first half century of their residence here. I may, at some future time, prepare a paper on this subject. I will, however, give

a single transaction between John Pynchon and Reice Bedortha. It bears the date of February 24, 1653, at which time Bedortha was owing Pynchon a balance of £7 16s. 9d. It is in the handwriting of John Pynchon and is as follows:

"An agreement between John Pynchon and Reice Bedortha. Upon condition y^e sd Reice doth bring in to said John Pynchon 20 bush. of good wheat towards y^e debt above said within the month & pvided y^e sd Reice doth delr to John Pynchon a certaine Calfe y^t is now about a fortnight old, thursday or friday next, well and in good liking, uppon condition also y^t y^e sd Reice doth delr. to y^e aforsd John Pynchon two bullocks, (one being by Reice bought of Mr. Holyoke and ye other of John Allyn) well & sound & in good liking, y^e 20th day of May next uppon y^e condition aforsd y^e sd John Pynchon doth promise to pay for Reice Bedortha to John Allyn y^e sum of 7 lbs. 13s. 9d. & also to satsfie Mr. Holyoke y^t for the Bullock w^{ch} Reice bought having paid y^e said sums to Mr. Allyn and to Mr. Holyoke for y^e said Reice, he is hereby bound to delr y^e two Bullocks aforsd to y^e said John Pynchon y^e 20th of May next.

Witness your hand

John Pynchon

Y^e mark of Reice Bedortha."

Mr. President, I regret to say that I cannot give you much as to the fulfilment of this agreement, or anything concerning the fate of those bullocks. History reveals nothing—the record is silent. But on the margin of this agreement, in John Pynchon's own hand is written this: "Reced Y^e Calfe."

MARCH 7, 1892. Quarterly meeting. Committee appointed to co-operate with the Camera Club in procuring pictures of old buildings, etc.

MARCH 12, 1892. Special meeting. Paper read by Judge A. M. COPELAND relative to *Murrayfield in the War of the Revolution*.

JUNE 6, 1892. Annual meeting. Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM elected president and EDWARD MORRIS clerk. Committee appointed to select names for the other officers and report at an adjourned meeting.

JUNE 28, 1892. Adjourned meeting. Officers elected—

Treasurer, J. S. KIRKHAM.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Vice-Presidents: Hon. G. D. ROBINSON, Chicopee, Hon. E. B. GILLET, Westfield, W. B. C. PEARSONS, Holyoke, Rev. Dr. L. C. SEELYE, Northampton, Rev. G. M. STEELE, Wilbraham, Hon. LEVI STOCKBRIDGE, Amherst, L. O. LAMB, Greenfield, C. L. GARDNER, Palmer, Rev. J. W. HARDING, Longmeadow, WILLIAM N. FLYNT, Monson, ROBERT O. MORRIS, H. S. SHELDON, Suffield, HENRY C. BLISS, West Springfield.

DECEMBER 29, 1892. Adjourned meeting. J. S. KIRKHAM elected clerk in place of EDWARD MORRIS, resigned.

JUNE 11, 1894. Annual meeting. Officers elected—

President, Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM, CLARK W. BRYAN, Judge A. M. COPELAND.

Clerk, W. F. ADAMS.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Treasurer, J. S. KIRKHAM.

NOVEMBER 22, 1894. Special meeting. The following persons were elected to life membership:

JULIUS H. APPLETON	JOHN WEST	E. GUNN
HENRY S. LEE	W. H. BROOKS, Holyoke	JOHN OLMSTED
FRED H. STEBBINS	A. H. KIRKHAM	JAMES A. RUMRILL
DR. W. H. POMEROY	CHARLES H. SOUTHWORTH	HENRY S. DICKINSON
W. H. HAILE	NATHAN D. BILL	W. S. SHURTLEFF
WALTER H. WESSON	JAMES W. KIRKHAM	
Rev. Dr. WILLIAM RICE	EDWARD PYNCHON	

Voted to request City Council to appropriate money for the keeping and preserving the original and subsequent records of Springfield. Voted to vacate present rooms June 1, 1895, to occupy new rooms in new Art building.

JUNE 3, 1895. Annual meeting. Officers elected were as follows:

President, Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM, CLARK W. BRYAN, Judge A. M. COPELAND.

Clerk, WILLIAM F. ADAMS.

Treasurer, HARRY A. WRIGHT.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

A paper was read by HARRY A. WRIGHT on *The Indians of the Connecticut Valley*.

JUNE 10, 1895. Adjourned meeting. Remarks made by the president regarding new rooms in the Art building.

DECEMBER 2, 1895. Quarterly meeting. Paper read by A. P. LESHURE on the *Fire Department of the City of Springfield*. Mr. LESHURE's paper:

Fire Department of the City of Springfield

THE late Capt. J. K. Newell prepared a paper which he read before this Society several years ago, in which he gave the history of the Fire Department of the town of Springfield to 1824, at which time the town had taken action to procure a more modern apparatus than was then in use—that is—engines that drafted as well as discharged water. The method then in use to supply water to the engines required a line of persons who passed buckets full of water to each other from the resource, wherever it might be, to the engine, and after pouring it into the box or tub, as it was called, the empty buckets were passed to a line of persons opposite, who returned them to be refilled. Thus a continuous supply was maintained so long as the water could be obtained from brook, well or cistern. These lines were long or short according to the distance from the fire to the source of supply, as the engine was placed as near the burning building as possible in order to get the full pressure of water on the fire, as no leading hose was then used or made. The fireman directed the stream standing on top of the engine. The officers were called Fire Wardens and carried long sticks, the insignia of the office, and all persons that were present and needed were compelled to take a place of service in the lines or on the brakes of the engine when so ordered by the Fire Warden, and no person who was able could be excused. Carpets were hung along the sides and roofs of wooden buildings or covered with anything handy and kept wet with water to prevent communication.

Most of the buildings were low, wooden structures, built of large timbers hewn from a log and framed into others of the same, being braced with strong wooden timbers, all held in place by oak pins, making a very strong and slow-burning building. Evidence of this was demonstrated by the fire in the old Dwight homestead in 1810,

described by Mr. Newell. When this building was demolished to make room for the Young Men's Christian Association building, corner of State and Dwight streets, the timbers were well charred but still strong enough to support the floors and remained in the building. Such a fire in the modern dwelling would have destroyed it.

The town was possessed of two hand engines with two savage names; one was "Lion," located near Bang's mill on South Main street, and the other "Tiger," located on Sanford street. It is said the "Lion" engine was here before the "Tiger" came, and had no name or suction hose, but when the "Tiger" appeared the southerners went one better and named their engine and, without any assistance from the town, provided the method to draft water with their old engine.

An incident occurred, during the parade of this company from the South End, which perhaps is worth relating. Soon after being equipped with a uniform, consisting of red shirts and blue jean pants, leather belt and high glazed hat, with a front with a lion painted on it, the ropes were extended, the men placed equal distance apart and, as the men were not plenty, they had room and to spare along the line, but the officers and men had a satisfaction in their appearance marching up Main street. When opposite Park street, two small boys sitting on the fence, cried out, "See the String Bean Fire Company." The assistant foreman chased the boys over the fence and stopped further observations.

The "Tiger" company also had a picture of a tiger on the front of their hats. These engines were used until the "Niagara" and "Cataract," two modern engines, were procured, and these were the only machines that belonged to the town when it was made a city.

The City Fire Department in 1852 consisted of five hand engines, inclusive of "Niagara" and "Cataract," "Eagle 1" and "Eagle 2" belonging to the United States Armory and one owned by the Western Railroad, now Boston & Albany, called "Ocean 3." The compensation was \$500 per year for each company of not less than fifty men each. There was also a Hook and Ladder Company, composed of Germans or a majority of that nationality. Three hundred dollars per year was paid this company. All the above salaries received

by these firemen were turned into the treasury of their companies, as a rule, and sometimes the treasury had donations added from some of the members who could afford it and were willing. Although the city allowed only fifty men to each company, double that number of names appeared on the rolls, consequently the firemen never expected to receive any money, but did pay assessments to maintain the organization. This was the condition of the Fire Department up to 1861 when the war broke out and many of the men enlisted and left for the front as officers and privates.

The whole cost of maintenance of the department annually was \$4,000 to \$5,000 per year. The resources for water for fire were the Town Brook and cisterns. The brook ran under the sidewalk on the east side of Main street, from Worthington street to the south end of the city; also a branch ran north, from Worthington street. A small stream of water flowed, and a pond on the corner of Lyman and Spring streets was utilized to re-enforce the supply and produce a greater velocity that was necessary for a fire on Main street. Large iron gates were placed along the brook, which must be closed tight to stop the water to give sufficient depth to cover the suction hose strainer, and sometimes the firemen would stand in the brook to keep the strainer under.

During the year 1861 the Fire Department had lost quite a number of its firemen, and a new order of things was needed. The average citizen was not fond of expending his strength on the brakes of a hand engine; he had rather pay for something that could do his work for him and do it better than he could do it himself; therefore the next year the city purchased their first steam fire engine. It was put into service in June, 1862, where it has remained and done excellent service from that time to this for the city. The same year the Western Railroad purchased a duplicate engine of the same parties, and it was put into service in December, 1862. The authorities at the Armory purchased another of the same pattern and dimensions soon after, which remained here in service until the "Water Spout," with double pumps, the largest engine that was being built at that time, was received. These engines were used at fires in the city, although the railroad engine was purchased to send out on the road

to extinguish fires that might occur in the large piles of wood owned by the corporation and used on the locomotives. This engine was loaded on cars for the above purpose nearly 300 times, and is now in the service of the city and in good condition.

In the year 1865 another steam fire engine was purchased for service on Armory Hill. This engine was built light, had high wheels which was necessary at that time on account of the sandy roads or streets in that locality. It was sold soon after the introduction of the Water Works in 1874. Another more modern steam fire engine, with double pumps, was purchased in 1870, another in 1871, and another in 1873. The names of engines originally were "Monitor," "Constitution," "Union." After the war they changed to "George Dwight," "Henry Gray," "L. O. Hanson," but names were removed and all went by numbers a few years afterwards.

The old hook and ladder apparatus was a home-built affair, with clumsy ladders and hooks, and firemen neglected that service until 1871, when a modern apparatus was purchased; and in 1875 a full-length New York Fire Department hook and ladder truck, fully equipped, was put into service. These two last constituted the ladder equipment until the "Union" fire in March, 1888, when several persons were killed. The next day a new life-saving apparatus was ordered and is now in the service.

The annual parade and inspection of the Hand-Engine Fire Department was usually a day for trial of engines and muscles of the men of the different companies. The prizes were a sum of money or a fireman's trumpet, and always brought out a crowd to witness the display. Each company had its friends to encourage them to do their best and defend their failure to win with a commendation of the judges. "Barnes Lot," between Bridge and Hillman streets, was the location where these trials usually took place. The engines drafted water from the Town Brook, and a tall pole was erected about 300 hundred feet from the brook and on the pole were placed large figures, indicating the height. The judges took a position on the roof of the block of buildings near by, where they could plainly see the streams of water when they reached the highest point a drop could be seen. Several musters were held on this lot,

when companies from out of town were invited to compete for prizes after a parade of about two miles. On these occasions the engines were polished and decorated with flowers and bunting, and noted bands of music engaged at a large expense to the company.

The first parade held in the city occurred September 17, 1852, and the "Deluge" of North Brookfield was invited; also the engineers of Northampton, Worcester, Hartford and Chicopee. A collation was provided at the Exchange Hotel, kept by H. McKinney, which cost the Springfield engineers \$500 and a vote of thanks.

The first Board of Engineers of the city consisted of James D. Brewer, chief; Henry Gray, first assistant; George Ensworth, second assistant; George B. Morris, third assistant; J. E. Taylor, fourth; Drayton Perkins, fifth; W. C. Burdick, sixth; Alden Warner, seventh; and John F. Comstock, clerk. The next year the same board served, with the addition of Cyrus Cole from Ward Three.

The next year (1853), a muster was planned to take place on the 23rd of September. The judges were Col. James M. Thompson, chairman; Philos B. Tyler, Wilson Eddy, Samuel S. Day, Cyrus Buckland, and for substitutes, Solomon C. Warner, William Stowe and Thomas W. Wason.

The uniform of the engineers was a leather fire hat painted red, blue frock coats, gilt buttons and dark trousers. The uniform of the firemen was a black leather hat, red shirt and black trousers. The committee on the muster were J. D. Brewer, chief; George Ensworth and John Taylor assistants; Henry Crane, foreman of "Niagara 1"; E. Bigelow, "Cataract 2;" William Dickinson, "Eagle 1"; Peter Valentine, "Eagle 2"; F. A. Lydston, "Ocean 3." A silver trumpet was the prize. Mr. Gray's hat is a relic preserved by the Veteran Firemen, and may be seen at their rooms.

During the year 1852 the engineers adopted a set of rules for their government. Among them was the following: "It shall be the duty of the Chief Engineer to appoint an Assistant Engineer for each Company, whose duty it shall be (in addition to his other duties) to see that said engine is kept sufficiently manned while working at a fire." Another rule was as follows: "Any member absent at roll call shall be fined 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents, and if not present during the meeting

25 cents, unless satisfactory excuse shall be made at or before the next meeting." It is not on record to what use the funds were put, or if any fines were collected. The next year George Ensworth was Chief Engineer (Mr. Brewer having served 1852 and 1853); L. O. Hanson, Cyrus Cole, Alden Warner, assistants; the foreman of the "Niagara 1," A. Stebbins; "Cataract 2," S. M. Dart; "Eagle 1," Charles Woodman; "Eagle 2," Oliver Bannon; "Ocean 3," P. A. Rockwell. During the year the two city companies disbanded on account of some newspaper remarks, and a controversy was kept up between the firemen and press for several weeks. New companies were formed to man these engines, and fires were extinguished as before.

The next year (1855) a convention and muster of firemen was held on the 27th and 28th of September. The meeting of the firemen was on the 27th at Hampden Hall. The parade consisted of six divisions, the first led by "Ocean 3," P. A. Rockwell foreman, formed on Howard street; "Eagle 1," Charles Woodman foreman, led the second division, on Bliss street; "Eagle 2," third division, Oliver Bannon foreman, on West State street; "Niagara 1," E. L. Sherman foreman, Elm street, fourth division; "Cataract 2," James Coffran foreman, led the fifth from Court street; Hook and Ladder 1, Sidney Ross foreman, led the sixth, on Pyncheon street. L. W. Park was Chief Engineer, with eight assistants, all mounted on horseback. The prizes consisted of cash \$300 first, and \$200 second prize. The "Bay State" of Westfield took the first prize and the Mechanics of Holyoke second prize. This last-mentioned company paraded with straw hats, green jackets and blue overalls, and was the attraction of the day.

The annual parade of the Fire Department was the day firemen anticipated a good time generally, and a good band of music must be had if there was any money in the treasury to pay for it. Sometimes a drum band from Longmeadow was found to answer the purpose, which made more noise than the more expensive and larger corps of musicians, and cost considerably less.

The rivalry for the best music continued, and at the parade of 1860, the companies had two noted bands from out of the city. The

"Ocean" had Arbuckle, the famous cornet player, for the leader of their band. The Fire Department formed the line of parade on Court street, in front of the City Hall, as usual, each company marching through Elm street to take the position assigned them, and while doing so the bands were playing their loudest and best, including the drum bands. Of course so many bands playing at the same time made a disturbance in the Court House, where Judge Lord of Salem was holding court, and the late Judge Henry Morris was making a plea for his client in an important case. The Judge ordered the Sheriff to stop the noise, which he tried to do, but did not succeed, until the parade had moved out of hearing. The Judge was very indignant, and when the Sheriff appeared in court, ordered him to immediately arrest the noisy musicians and bring them before the court for sentence. The procession had reached the jail on State street when the Sheriff arrested the "Ocean" company (in form), with band, Arbuckle, leader. The whole department was then informed and considered themselves arrested, and all marched back to the Court House, which was more than the Judge wanted. There were about 500 mad firemen on that occasion. The Judge was willing to compromise because they did not know the law against noise, and adjourned his court until the next day to accommodate them, and took the next train for Boston, consequently did not hear the firemen groan their affection for him after the parade.

The last muster was held October 27 and 28, 1870. There were eighteen steam fire engines and companies in the line. Boston furnished five from the department, and Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Hartford, Hudson, N. Y., and Pawtucket, R. I., were represented. Also there were eleven hand engines and companies, altogether 800 men. The parade was on the eve of the 27th by torchlight, which with the illuminations of residences and buildings on Main street and fireworks along the route of the procession, together with the darkness of the evening, made a novel and fine appearance. The great fires of Chicago and Boston occurred soon after, and no fire apparatus is now permitted to leave a city or town except to be repaired or to render assistance in an emergency.

The firemen of the city attended parades and trials of engines

in the neighboring cities, and on such occasions were received and entertained by a friendly company, who had visited here and been entertained.

"Relief Number 3" of New Haven presented "Niagara 1" of this city a handsome shield, made of wood with firemen's emblems carved on it, for courtesies received during their visit to this city, and in return the "Niagara" company caused a fine oil painting of their engine to be made with a gilt frame, to be presented to "Relief 3" of New Haven, but the company at New Haven disbanded before the picture was presented, and it now hangs in the Veteran Firemen's room, a relic over forty years old.

Excursions and receptions were the cause for resolutions finely written or engraved and framed, which cost quite a sum of money. About the year 1857, "Americus 6" or "Big 6" (also known as the "Tiger"), W. M. Tweed, foreman, from New York, visited this city on their return from Canada. This was a famous company of firemen, and Mr. Tweed was a member of Congress at the time. Dodsworth's full band of music, also famous at that time in New York, led the company. These were received by the whole Fire Department of this city. After a parade to the United States Armory, a collation was furnished at the "Warriner's Union House" (now Belmont). Mr. Tweed was then in the height of his political glory. His downfall is well known. Engine Company 29 of New York, Eli Bates foreman, also visited this city the same year, and was received and entertained. Mr. Bates has been retired as chief of the New York Fire Department for several years.

The Board of Engineers in 1855 were Levi Park, chief engineer; E. A. May, Oramel Clark, John V. Jones, Loren Blanchard, Amos Call, D. J. Bartlett, Harris B. Johnson and James H. Osgood. The clerk of the Board was Mr. Osgood. Johnson resigned and L. O. Hanson was elected to fill the vacancy. George Dwight was elected Chief Engineer the next year, and Henry Gray, Edward Ingersoll, James D. Brewer, Elisha Gunn, Jr., George Ensworth, Amos Call, John Hannis and J. H. Osgood were elected assistants. The same persons served the next year (1857), with the exception of George Ensworth and John Hannis. Hosea C. Lombard and P. A. Rock-

well served instead. The sum of \$185 was estimated as needed to pay the Springfield Aqueduct Company and Benjamin Day for water for fire purposes.

The same board was elected for 1858, with W. S. Shurtleff clerk. The subject of a Sack and Bucket Company was discussed and found to be an expensive affair, so the idea was abandoned. Mr. Dwight was elected Chief Engineer in 1859, the fourth term in succession, and with him the assistants, except Messrs. Ingersoll, Lombard and Hannis. J. Q. A. Sexton, William Smith and C. F. Burnett served in their places, and Mr. Shurtleff served as clerk.

The next year (1860) H. C. Lombard was elected, and a Board of Assistant Engineers consisting of L. O. Hanson, Edmund Bigelow, Joseph Marsh, J. Q. A. Sexton, Alfred Clough, Amos Call, William Smith and J. H. Osgood. In the year 1861 L. O. Hanson was elected Chief Engineer, and his assistants were Josiah Bumstead, W. W. Day, H. B. Johnson, Frank Preston, to fill vacancies of Osgood, Smith, Call and Hanson. Messrs. Bigelow, Marsh, Clough and Sexton remained, and Mr. George C. Fisk was chosen clerk of the Board.

During the year 1860 another hand engine was purchased for Indian Orchard district, called "Champion." It was sold in 1874. In 1862 the number of assistant engineers was reduced to five, chosen from the city at large. Joseph Marsh was elected Chief Engineer and O. S. Taylor, Charles Chapman, W. W. Day, C. F. Bennett and A. P. Leshure were elected assistants and were assigned to the district where they resided; therefore, O. S. Taylor represented Ward One, A. P. Leshure Wards Two and Three, Charles Chapman Wards Four and Five, W. W. Day Six and Seven, C. F. Bennett Eight. After a few months Chief Engineer Marsh resigned and O. S. Taylor succeeded him. During the year the first steam fire engine was placed in service and the "Niagara No. 1" hand engine was put out of service and the company reduced to twelve men. The first engineer of the steam fire engine was Charles Mil-liard, now of the Boston & Albany Railroad, and Richardson Stoker, afterwards killed at the explosion on Market street of the Leete Cartridge Manufactory. A. Hannahan was chosen foreman of the company and Peter Platt assistant.

The next year (1863) L. O. Hanson was elected Chief and C. W. Kimball, James Coffran, A. P. Leshure, W. W. Day, and C. F. Bennett, assistants. Mr. Hanson served the next year with A. Hannahan and G. T. Ramsdell assistants on the Board in place of Coffran and Bennett. George Dwight was elected Chief Engineer in 1865, with L. H. Powers, C. D. Leet, W. W. Day, A. P. Leshure and W. Armington assistants. The new steam fire engine "L. O. Hanson" was received this year and a company formed for duty on Armory Hill.

L. H. Powers was elected Chief Engineer the next year, and W. W. Day, Charles F. Hovey, Peter Platt, E. D. Stock, and W. Armington assistants. Mr. Powers and this same Board were elected the next year. W. W. Day was elected in 1868, with same assistants, with the addition of Charles Geakler. It was during this year that several incendiary fires occurred and a young man was arrested but escaped from the old jail on State street.

The new system of Fire Alarm Telegraph was introduced in October of this year, at a cost of \$8,000, with some opposition among the taxpayers, as it was considered a luxury and not a necessity. There were twenty stations, one striker for the City Hall, a bell and five gongs put in service for the above sum. W. J. Denver was the Superintendent and held the office eighteen years; S. L. Wheeler, the present Superintendent, succeeded Mr. Denver in 1887.

Mr. Powers was again elected Chief Engineer for 1869, and Messrs. Hovey, Stock, Platt, T. Emery and J. S. Frost assistants. A. P. Leshure succeeded Mr. Powers in 1870, the assistants being H. C. Lombard, W. W. Day, Peter Platt, A. Hannahan and J. S. Frost; K. B. Webster clerk. Mr. Powers was again elected for the year 1871 and served until elected to the City Council for 1872. Mr. Day was elected assistant, with H. Murdock, D. T. Perkins, Morey Evans and P. J. Bolger. E. D. Stock was clerk.

H. C. Lombard was elected Chief Engineer for 1872 and served two years. His assistants were Messrs. Day, Platt, C. H. Hunt, B. McCoe, E. B. Hovey and H. W. Keyes.

In 1874 A. P. Leshure was elected Chief Engineer and served in that capacity twenty years in succession, being elected every year

by the City Council. The assistant engineers for 1874 were J. H. Gould, O. S. Goodell, A. Hannahan, S. B. Chapman and H. W. Keyes. George Dwight served in place of Hannahan the next year until the ordinance reducing the number of assistants to four, one of which was located in Indian Orchard and served as foreman of the company in that ward.

At the election in 1877 the two assistants, Goodell and Chapman, resigned and J. A. Stevens and M. J. King were chosen to fill the vacancies. J. H. Gould resigned in October, 1882, and W. A. Withey filled the vacancy. O. N. Whipple succeeded M. J. King in 1884. Mr. Gould returned to the Board of Engineers in 1886. Mr. Withey retired in 1888 and J. N. McCleary was selected to fill the vacancy. Two years F. E. Knight served on the Board in place of McCleary, and McCleary was again returned and is still in service, as are Messrs. Stevens and Gould.

In 1891, the National Association of Chief Engineers held their annual convention in this city. The meeting lasted four days and was attended by the Chief of the Fire Departments of the principal cities of this country and Canada. The exhibition of all kinds of appliances used in the service was held in the City Hall, with an interesting lecture by Doctor Gulick and exhibition of life saving by the students of the International Training School on the first evening and a lecture and practical exhibit of electric currents by Captain Brophy of Boston and H. S. Anderson of this city the second evening, all of which were very interesting and attended by a large number of citizens. A vote of thanks was passed by the convention for the instructive entertainments which had been provided.

There have been few large losses by fire in the city in proportion to the amount of burnable property and the resources for water for extinguishment which were quite limited until the introduction of the new Water Works in 1874. The old aqueduct company furnished small pipes unless the city paid for larger ones for fire purposes. They could not force the water above Spring and School streets. The city usually paid for the larger pipes which were again purchased when the city took possession of the old works.

On Armory Hill and all elevations above Spring and School

streets surface reservoirs and wells were depended upon to furnish water for the extinguishment of fire, although there was a large brick well or conduit on State street, east of Oak street, about 700 or 800 feet long, built in 1860 or 1861, which furnished the engine with plenty of water for ordinary fires in that immediate vicinity.

The Town Brook ran across Ferry street, but in 1857 five houses were burned and fifteen families rendered homeless. No water in the brook as usual. At a fire on Vernon street in 1858, said the daily paper, "The engines were promptly on the spot, but owing to the scarcity of water the building was consumed before the fire could be arrested. Who has charge of the Town Brook?"

A large loss occurred in July, 1864, when Haynes Music Hall and other buildings were destroyed, owing to the lack of water in the Town Brook. The Hampden Watch Company building on Armory Hill was destroyed in 1870 for lack of water. The big fire on May 30, 1875, found the water supply limited to the old works, except on Dwight street, there being no new pipe laid through Main street. The present 16-inch main pipe supplied from the new reservoir was ordered laid through Main street immediately after the fire. There were sixty-eight buildings on fire during the afternoon and firebrands were found on the street at Longmeadow. Firemen and engines from Holyoke, Chicopee and Hartford were sent to assist the firemen of this city. The message of the Mayor the next year contains the following passage relating to the fire department: "With our numerous hydrants in the central parts of the city, covering the highest buildings, it is obvious that the use of the fire engines may, in many cases, be dispensed with altogether, and I have no doubt that such will be the case whenever the expenditures are placed upon proper footing of economy." The amount of loss at the fire was about \$400,000. The cost for maintenance for 1875 was \$47,200, which included \$13,400 paid for water, new hose and new hook and ladder truck. The expenditure for 1877 was reduced to \$28,032.40, for the salaries of 104 call members at \$100 per year and salaries of 13 permanent men, including the Chief Engineer and maintenance of twelve horses.

A fire on Worthington street November 22, 1893, caused a loss

of \$300,000, and although the fire had obtained a great force before it was discovered, a lack of a full supply of water caused a much larger loss than usual. Engines and firemen from Hartford, Worcester, Holyoke, Chicopee and West Springfield came to the assistance of the firemen of the city.

Previous to 1870 the engines were drawn to fires by horses hired for the purpose, consequently they were sometimes late arriving at a fire, and the hose carriages drawn by hand for a short run would get there first, but when horses were provided for the use of the engines exclusively, then hand hose companies were sometimes late. Horse hose carts that could carry one thousand feet of leather hose were put into service during the year 1870, and the two city engine companies reduced to fifteen men each. When run by hand thirty men constituted a hose company. During the year 1874 two more hose carts were put into service. One permanent man was employed in the department previous to 1870, but after the Boston fire in 1872 the city provided a permanent Chief Engineer, also engineers of steam fire engines, drivers and horses. The improvements in the method of hitching up the teams to save time have been continued until the men with their apparatus leave their quarters within fifteen seconds from the first blow of the alarm, night or day.

The Firemen's Mutual Relief Association was chartered and registered March 17, 1858, while Mr. Dwight was Chief Engineer. He originated the society and was assisted by Messrs. Gray, Gunn, Hanson and others. A grand concert and ball, for the benefit of this Association, was first given by the Fire Department on the 22d of February, 1857, in the new City Hall, and again on New Year's Eve of the year 1857-58. The Germania Band of Boston furnished the music for these occasions and continued to do so for thirty years in succession on New Year's Eve, unless the day occurred on Saturday or Sunday. These concerts were attended by a large number of citizens of this city and neighboring towns, and the proceeds, together with the annual dues from the firemen, created a fund which has been added to every year up to the present time. W. S. Shurtleff drafted the constitution and by-laws of the Association and was the first secretary. E. D. Chapin of the Hancock Bank of this city was

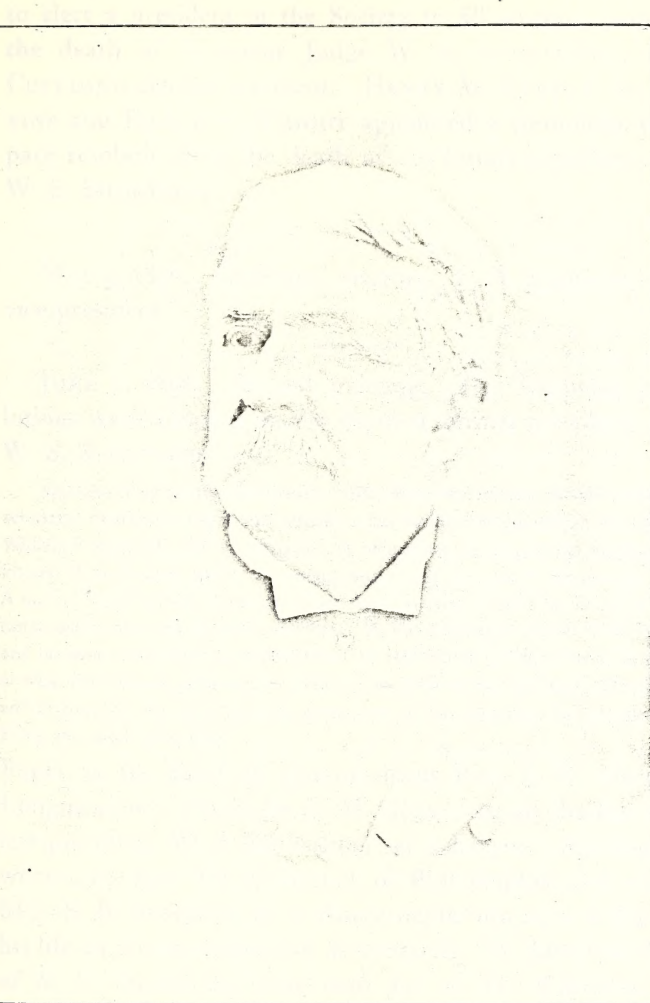
first treasurer and served twenty years, without any pay. Mr. Dwight was first president and trustee, Mr. Gray vice-president and trustee, L. O. Hanson, Tim Henry, E. Gunn, John Sexton, Alfred Clough, W. G. Burdick and A. P. Leshure, trustees.

The fund of this Association is for the benefit of firemen who may be injured while on duty, and has been a great assistance to many men who have been injured in the service. There are many men in the service at present, who will never know the efforts that were made by the originators of this society to provide a fund for their benefit. It has been said, "That if the firemen of this city ever erect a monument to the memory of the dead members of the Fire Department, the name of George Dwight should be placed at the head of the list, to which may be added Gray, Hanson, Powers and others."

The names of the corporators of the Association were George Dwight, Henry Gray, Amos Call, P. A. Rockwell, Elisha Gunn, Jr., H. C. Lombard, Alfred Clough, Joseph Marsh, George H. Estes, W. B. Turpin, A. P. Leshure. Among the members were H. Alexander, Jr., C. W. Kimball, L. J. Powers, J. D. Brewer, G. C. Fisk, J. K. Newell, A. Holt and others. H. S. Lee has been treasurer of the Association for seventeen years. His salary per year is a vote of thanks. The fund was started with \$268, the profits of the two first concerts and balls. It now amounts to \$16,000.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

April 25, 1896. Address of Directors. Mr. J. H. ...



JUDGE WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF

APRIL 21, 1896. Meeting of Directors. Meeting called to elect a president of the Society to fill vacancy caused by the death of President Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF. A. M. COPELAND elected president. HENRY M. BURT, F. H. STEBBINS and HARRY A. WRIGHT appointed a committee to prepare resolutions on the death of our former president, Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF.

MAY 5, 1896. Directors' meeting. F. H. STEBBINS elected vice-president.

JUNE 1, 1896. Annual meeting. The following resolutions were adopted on the death of former president, Judge W. S. SHURTLEFF:

Resolved, That we the Connecticut Valley Historical Society of Springfield, Massachusetts, desire to manifest our sorrow at the death of our president, the late Judge William S. Shurtleff, and to recognize our obligations to him, for his devotion to the interest of our Society, and for the energy with which he strove to promote its welfare. A man of broad culture and refined tastes he found time in his busy life to gratify his tastes and fondness for historical research. He was thoroughly imbued with the objects and purpose of this Society, to perpetuate the recollection of what is good in the past, or what may interest posterity, to qualify a just pride in the deeds of our forefathers and to bequeath the past to future generations as an inspiration to patriotism, right living and good citizenship.

Paper on the death of vice-president Rev. J. W. HARDING, Longmeadow. Paper by A. M. COPELAND on the life of our late president, W. S. SHURTLEFF, as a lawyer. A eulogy was written by Rev. Dr. CONWELL of Philadelphia and read by Maj. S. B. SPOONER, as a tribute made him as a soldier and his life as a companion and as a citizen. A sketch of the life of W. S. SHURTLEFF was read by A. H. KIRKHAM, and appropriate remarks were made by CHARLES H. BARROWS, E. H. PHELPS, Rev. Dr. WILLIAM RICE. CHARLES G. WHITING presented a paper on the life of Rev. J. W. HARDING. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President, Judge A. M. COPELAND.

Vice-Presidents: Rev. Dr. S. G. BUCKINGHAM, CLARK W. BRYAN, Col. JOHN L. RICE.

Clerk, WILLIAM F. ADAMS.

Treasurer, HARRY A. WRIGHT.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Executive Committee: Rev. WILLIAM RICE, D.D., JAMES A. RUMRILL, MILTON BRADLEY, JONATHAN BARNES, RALPH W. ELLIS, F. H. STEBBINS.

RUSSELL H. CONWELL's paper:

Judge Shurtleff as a Soldier

COLONEL WILLIAM STEELE SHURTLEFF was a soldier. He could scarcely have been more if he had been graduated from West Point. He came out of the ranks of the people and fitted the uniform of the soldier so completely that when we were being mustered in at Camp Banks, the mustering officer from the regular army asked if Colonel Shurtleff had "seen service before." He was the young man's ideal in his soldierly bearing, his knightly courtesy, his promptness and vigilance and his positive friendship for those below him in military station. Few of us will ever forget the first time we saw him ride across the camp on that spirited horse, and the effect it produced upon us in arousing a military spirit and the fervor of patriotic ardor.

He was every inch a man. It will be remembered that the regiment which he commanded entered the service at a time when the war had ceased to have any of the attractiveness of a parade, and suggested only hunger, fatigue, wounds and death. Our hospitals were full of the wounded and our homes already shadowed by the sorrows of widows and orphans, so that the man who enlisted then, did so with the horrors of war staring him squarely in the face. It was at a time, too, when there was a strong party in the country in favor of some thought of compromise with the enemy. The debt of the nation was becoming so great, the processions to the cemeteries so frequent, as to appall stout hearts, while the news of the killing and wounding of 10,000 at a time, made men question whether the abolition of slavery and the retention of the Confederate States was worth the great sacrifice. But Colonel Shurtleff was not one

of the number who hesitated in the case of a great duty, and the comrade I think is still living to whom Colonel Shurtleff stated, that he was going to the war as a private soldier, if no other position offered itself. He calmly measured the risk to his own life, the sorrow to his family, but went on unflinchingly, exhibiting in a most beautiful manner that highest trait of the noblest manhood—a clear and commanding sense of duty. From his first order at battalion drill to the time when the regiment was mustered out of service, he was respected by every soldier in his command. When the regiment left Camp Banks at Springfield, Massachusetts, he was very solicitous that every man should be on hand, and even that he should have a comfortable seat in the train. After embarking upon the steamer at Boston and an awful storm arose in the harbor, he was especially urgent with the State authorities, that the soldiers should be permitted to go back to Faneuil Hall to rest and recuperate from the sickness and stuffy inconvenience of the unmanageable steamer. On our voyage to North Carolina, he visited the quarters of the men incessantly, and if anyone was sick, the Colonel secured for him at once medical attention and any little luxuries which the steamer could afford. His friends had filled his baggage with various kinds of eatables, especially prepared for his enjoyment, but he divided nearly all of it among soldiers and gave his last orange to a sick man lying on the cabin floor. It seems not a great thing to do, but it was an indication touchingly clear of the fact that he was a warm-hearted commander and a fraternal soldier. It made it emphatic with us all what sort of treatment we might expect from him after we had reached the enemy's country. During the entire time of the regiment's encampment at New Berne, North Carolina, he was scrupulously vigilant in bringing the regimental drill up to the highest excellence and in preparing the men for the more fearful scenes of open battle.

During the "Gum Swamp expedition" Colonel Shurtleff's willing self-sacrifice was exhibited in a most conspicuous manner. While the men were floundering in the mire, wading in the water, and pushing their way through the thorny Southern thicket, he was terribly excited at times in his venturesome determination to bring every man through. He offered to go back over the line of

march with two other officers, to find if possible some stragglers, who did not answer to the roll call at the end of that dreadful day's experience. The Confederates did not follow our line of march after we entered the awful bog, but few battles were more fatal in their final result than was that march, upon the health and lives of those in the raid. It is not difficult to picture again Colonel Shurtleff's appeal as he went anxiously along the line of each company, as we emerged upon the solid ground, inquiring after the missing and sympathizing with the fatigued.

He was a brave man. In the march upon Goldsborough in 1862, when the 46th Massachusetts Regiment, which he commanded, was made a part of General Foster's division, Colonel Shurtleff was very solicitous that his regiment should do its full duty. At Kinston, where the 10th Connecticut and the 9th New Jersey made their wild charge near the old church and drove the enemy across the bridge over the Neuse River, the 46th, with several other regiments, was drawn up for a charge upon two batteries stationed on the right of the enemy and on the bank of the river. Colonel Shurtleff was informed that the charge was to be made and that whenever the signal was given, the regiment was to move forward at "double-quick" without a moment's hesitation. The enemy withdrew their batteries unexpectedly to the commanding general, and hence the charge was not made. But no soldier who knew the circumstances will fail to recall the half-hidden excitement, the forced calm and the brave awaiting for the command to advance, which characterized our Colonel. The brave General Lee spoke of it afterwards with generous enthusiasm. His influence at such a critical time gave confidence to the men and held every one of them to an unshaken determination to do his full duty.

One characteristic act at the close of that battle endeared the Colonel to his soldiers more than he ever could appreciate. As we hastily followed the retreating Confederates and passed over the ground where the 10th Connecticut had many killed, one of the Union soldiers had fallen dead across two of his comrades who had been killed before him. Half the soldier's head had been shot away and he presented a most ghastly and blood-curdling appearance.

Colonel Shurtleff dismounted and taking his handkerchief spread it tenderly over the disfigured head and said, "This is the most we can do for his friends at home." We remember at the camp at Kinston, that night after the battle, how one of the soldiers in Company A saw the Colonel passing the camp fire and rushed out to him with a most nicely-cooked pork steak, which, however, was all the soldier had received as his share in the foraging by some of his company an hour before. It had a very tempting smell to any man who was hungry, but Colonel Shurtleff refused to take the gift, and when urged to do so pleased the soldier greatly by taking his knife, cutting the steak in two and saying, "I feel thankful to you for dividing your living with me." He would have been equally willing to divide his own living with any private soldier.

On the battlefield at Goldsborough, when the Confederate batteries on platform cars shelled from the left and their Parrott guns at the railroad bridge on the right played upon our troops with dreadfully accurate aim, then Colonel Shurtleff was brave to a degree which many of us who loved him felt bordering on recklessness. At the time the long grey line of the enemy came up over the railroad for their charge upon our position, and while the shells were shrieking and bursting about us on both sides, Colonel Shurtleff walked about the field in front of the regiment, cautioning us to lie very flat upon the ground and not to expose ourselves unnecessarily to the fire of the enemy.

We remember seeing him with several other officers of the regiment standing near the battery directly in front of our line, which was heating its guns with rapid firing, and on which the Confederate batteries for a time concentrated their fire. The Colonel had his glass to his eyes and leaned back upon his sword, surveying the whole field for some time. He then walked back to his regiment, lying on the ground sheltered by the brow of the hill and smilingly said, "I think those artillery men are doing the most of our work for us." And it was indeed so. The shot and shell of our batteries broke and scattered the long line, which charged so heroically towards us across the valley.

When the term of service had expired and the regiment was

entitled to its discharge from the service, the nation was in great straits because of the advance of the entire Confederate army into Pennsylvania and Maryland. The general commanding the division consulted with Colonel Shurtleff concerning retaining the regiment a few days more in service under circumstances so perilous to the nation. The Colonel unhesitatingly declared that he believed the regiment would be unanimously in favor of remaining in the service until the crisis was passed. He urged every man to do his duty, and when the regiment was called into Virginia from North Carolina after the expiration of its term of service, he said to Captain Avery, that "we must not think of going home until Lee is driven back into Virginia." But it turned out that the regiment did not need to be held many weeks; and when at last it reached Hampden Park in Springfield, the delight of the soldiers in being permitted again to go to their homes was shadowed no little by the feeling of sadness in separating from their officers and from each other. All the field officers had made themselves greatly beloved; and Colonel Shurtleff had retained his ideal position in the estimation of his followers and was the same knightly soldier at the muster out which they expected him to be at the muster in. But more than that, he had made himself a dear, personal friend to every soldier and officer in the regiment. It is a sweet privilege to make this hasty but sincere contribution to the testimony which is being gathered concerning the history of a noble life. It would require more time than the writer's overburdened life permits to gather the interesting facts connected with that campaign and in which Colonel Shurtleff bore his share. But they are written in the archives of his nation and indelibly stamped upon the hearts of his soldiers.

TOLEDO, OHIO, March 25, 1896.

Judge A. M. COPELAND's paper:

Judge Shurtleff as a Lawyer

HON. WILLIAM STEELE SHURTLEFF, late Judge of Probate and Insolvency in and for this county, was born in Newbury, Vermont, February 17, 1830. Several years of his boyhood life were spent in the city of Rochester, State of New York, and the rest of it in the village, now city of Springfield.

There does not appear to have been anything in his boyhood life that especially distinguished him from other boys. His early education was in the public schools. Later he fitted for college and entered Yale, but did not complete the full course. Subsequently, however, the degree of A. B. was conferred upon him by that college. In the first week of May, 1853, he entered, as a student, the law office of Ashmun & Leonard of Springfield. On the 20th of November, 1854, he entered, as a student, the Law Institute at Cambridge and remained there until July 18, 1855, when he returned to the office of Ashmun & Leonard, and was admitted to the bar upon their certificate and recommendation April 2, 1856.

He began practice in Springfield upon his admission to the bar, and shortly thereafter he became the law partner of Henry Vose, who was afterwards one of the judges of the Superior Court. His relations with Mr. Vose did not continue long, and it was thought at the time that he did not find his co-partnership with Mr. Vose agreeable. After he and Mr. Vose dissolved their business relations he formed a co-partnership with George Walker, who at that time had a good practice. The two men got on together quite pleasantly. Thus Judge Shurtleff was brought into contact with a good class of law practice. Both Mr. Walker and Mr. Vose were excellent lawyers and they were too ambitious to try cases themselves to give a junior partner a chance in the higher courts except in a subordinate capacity. But in office practice and in title searching and in police court practice he enjoyed good opportunities; and in probate practice he was not handicapped by his senior partners. So in various ways his bright, keen intellect had opportunities for

a kind of exercise and training essential to the development of a good lawyer. In January, 1859, he became Register of Probate under Judge John Wells.

He went to the war in the 46th Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and after an honorable service he returned in 1863. Shortly after his return the judgeship of the Probate Court for this county became vacant and he was appointed to fill the vacancy in September, 1863. He held court for the first time at Westfield the third Wednesday of September. From this time on he did but little practice in the other courts. As Mr. Stearns remarked of another member of Hampden bar, "He did not like jury trials and jury trials did not like him." He soon dropped out of practice entirely except as a conveyancer and title searcher. For several years before his death he came very little into contact with the members of the bar except judicially and socially. His tastes were eminently literary and by instinct he was a gentleman. Any personal affront was keenly felt and promptly resented, but always with dignity.

He was careful and painstaking in all things—often unnecessarily so—and rather inclined to be over-cautious, sometimes suggesting difficulties and dangers that were possible but not likely to occur. We all felt that he was extremely conscientious, and he was always kind, never arbitrary, and the lawyer who argued a case before him felt that he was speaking to an interested listener.

Judge Shurtleff felt that his court was the people's court, and he was on the bench to serve all alike—rich and poor. He presided with judicial dignity that never appeared haughty; all felt that the Judge was their friend and that their causes were safe in his hands, and that he would do his duty with courage and firmness. None went away from his court justly complaining that they had not been fully and fairly heard, even when the decision had been adverse; and, though smarting under defeat, and declaring that the court had erred, none questioned his fairness or that he had spoken his conscientious convictions.

When George D. Robinson accepted the office of Governor of Massachusetts, Judge Shurtleff was ambitious to succeed him in Congress. Although he was supported by a strong and earnest

delegation from Springfield in the nominating convention, there were others in Hampden County who were equally ambitious for the place, and, although the other candidates carried their honorable ambitions as honorable men should, the choice went to Berkshire County by one of those political trades so common in politics. So while Berkshire carried off the congressional honor, Hampden County retained the services of an excellent Probate judge. Upon learning of the nomination of Mr. Rockwell, Judge Shurtleff immediately telegraphed his congratulations and pledged his support.

The death of Judge Shurtleff was a shock to all the people of the county. Numerous persons who knew him only in his official capacity, and by having business in his court, felt that they had lost a personal friend. And we all felt that we had lost a true personal friend, and our mourning was heart-felt and truly sincere.

APRIL 8, 1901. Special meeting. J. C. DANA on behalf of the City Library Association offered room and assistance to the Society.

JUNE 3, 1901. Annual meeting. Officers elected—

President, Judge A. M. COPELAND.

Vice-Presidents: Col. J. L. RICE, SAMUEL BOWLES, EDWARD P. CHAPIN.

Clerk, WILLIAM C. STONE.

Treasurer, WILLIAM C. STONE.

Corresponding Secretary, A. H. KIRKHAM.

Executive Committee: W. F. ADAMS, HARRY A. WRIGHT, FRANK G. TOBEY, FRED H. STEEBINS, Mrs. CHARLOTTE E. WARNER, Miss MARY A. BOOTH.

E. A. HALL, CHAS. H. BARROWS appointed a committee to present resolutions on the death of Judge Henry Morris and Rev. Dr. S. G. Buckingham both former presidents of the Society.

OCTOBER 15, 1901. Paper read by Judge A. M. COPELAND on *The History of the Church in Chester Village (Huntington)*.

JANUARY 29, 1902. Paper read by Dr. MARSHALL CALKINS on *The Early Physicians of Hampden County*, and by E. A. HALL on the *Irish Pioneers of the Valley*. The following is DOCTOR CALKINS' paper:

The Early Physicians of Hampden County

IN ORDER to write historical and biographical sketches of the medical men of this city and county, one must depend for his facts and materials upon town and county records, biographical sketches, family Bibles, histories, newspaper notices, the memories of old people, and upon exaggerated and inaccurate floating stories in the community. There has not yet been written, to my knowledge, any work of this character in this part of the State, and so a record now made must be imperfect. In this brief paper the writer simply gives such facts as are well authenticated concerning such members of the profession as practiced in this county prior to the date of the organization of the Hampden District Medical Society in 1840, and concerning whom some life record is left to posterity.

Before the charter given by the Legislature in 1781 to the Massachusetts Medical Society, physicians could not belong to any permanent organization for mutual improvement or for establishing rules to direct professional conduct. Opportunities for education then were very few; those most learned and successful were isolated, being compelled to work on individual lines, with but little interchange of ideas with other physicians.

A sketch of the physicians then engaged in active work should include those whose professional success and conduct were approved by their associates and the general public, as well as those who were members or licentiates of the Massachusetts Medical Society prior to 1840. As near as can be well ascertained, there were thirty-two physicians in Hampden County who were members of the Massachusetts Medical Society prior to the organization of the Hampden District Medical Society in 1840 by a charter granted by the parent society. Among these there were several who were well-known and

held prominent positions, and who had excellent education for the times in which they lived. Then they received and imparted knowledge through office instruction and clinical observations made on private patients. Students studied and *rode* with their teachers of medicine, since the medical colleges were poorly equipped and unable to furnish opportunities for the student to use his senses and skill in personal or laboratory work.

A century ago physicians commenced their life work under very discouraging difficulties. Each was compelled largely to educate himself. Widely separated from each other in country practice, when emergencies arose, self-poise, common sense, and native skill were their dependence, and success came from their intelligent application. They had no specialties. As dentist, obstetrician, surgeon, physician, everything pertaining to the cure of diseases they must practice, or fail to meet the expectations and requirements of the public. Their professional work proved for them a useful discipline and development. It gave stimulus to originality, and taught them the truth expressed in one of the lines of Milton:

"To understand the common things of life is the prime wisdom."

Before the Revolutionary War these conditions generally existed, but after American independence, medical progress was more rapid.

On November 18, 1781, the Massachusetts Medical Society received its charter. It was comprehensive, granting full power to grant licenses, giving the right to practice medicine as full and complete as held by any university. So when Harvard College received its charter, a controversy arose between the society and the college relative to the privilege of granting licenses. This, however, was settled by compromise; yet we learn that the legal status of the society was placed on a plane with that of Harvard University. A physician who successfully passed the society's examination without other evidence of qualification was a licentiate, and occupied a position similar to one in our time who has been approved by our State Board of Examiners.

One of the earliest references, if not the only one, to physicians in this county is the record of Dr. John Sherman of Springfield as teacher and physician in 1709, and that of Dr. John Leonard in 1728,

to whom the town of Springfield voted 12*s.* as compensation for attendance on Sarah Stevenson.

Among the original incorporators of the Massachusetts Medical Society was Charles Pynchon. He was a descendant from William Pynchon, founder of Springfield, and was born January 31, 1719, in what was then called the Old Fort on Pynchon street. He practiced in Springfield and vicinity, and was surgeon in the Revolutionary War in 1777. He died August 19, 1783, at the age of 64 years. His office was in the second house above Ferry street on Main, and the house is still standing. He is said to have had an extensive practice and to have taught many medical students.

Dr. Joseph Pynchon, a brother, was born in 1705 and studied both divinity and medicine. He pursued for a while the clerical profession, but afterward practiced medicine in Longmeadow, and at one time was a member of the General Court.

Dr. Joshua Frost, one of the old Springfield physicians, was born in Maine, 1767, of English ancestry. He was a descendant of Samuel Frost, who came from England and settled in Maine. He studied medicine in Harvard University and Dartmouth College, and located in Longmeadow in 1796, where he practiced until his death in 1832, aged 65 years. His first wife was Sarah Lombard, and his second Mrs. Watson of Hartford. He joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1816. While located here he had many positions of trust, and was at one time State Senator. He joined the First church in August, 1797; was selectman in 1812, 1821, and 1826; a member of the Massachusetts Senate 1826-7.

Dr. Joshua Frost's son, George Frost, was born in Longmeadow in 1800. He is said to have studied medicine with Dr. Nathan Smith for seven years, and accompanied his preceptor on his lecturing tours in medical schools. He received instruction in Yale Medical College from 1820 to 1822, and graduated in 1822 at Bowdoin College, and commenced practice in this city in 1823. He became a licentiate of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1822, practiced here for more than twenty years, and died in 1846. He married Miss Caroline A., daughter of Col. Roswell Lee, who was for some time commander of Fort Griswold at New London, Connecticut, during the war from

1812 to 1815. Her brother, Henry Washington Lee, was bishop of the Episcopal church of Iowa until his death in 1875. Colonel Lee was a prominent Mason, and the Roswell Lee lodge is named in his honor.

Dr. Lemuel W. Belden was born in 1801, studied in Yale College and obtained his degree in 1821; afterward studied medicine and graduated from the medical department of Yale College in 1826. He located in Springfield in 1827. In 1835 he joined the Massachusetts Medical Society, and died in 1839, at the age of 38 years.

Dr. M. B. Baker graduated at Harvard in 1830, came to Springfield in 1831, was admitted a member of Massachusetts Medical Society in 1836, and died in 1839, at the age of 33, having practiced in Springfield only three years.

Dr. David Bemis joined the society in 1832, practiced in Chicopee and Chicopee Falls for twenty years, and died in 1852, at the age of 54 years.

Dr. Oliver Bliss joined the society in 1822; practiced in Longmeadow for several years; died in 1840, at the age of 68.

Dr. William Bridgman joined the society in 1822; died in 1864. He had a prominent location at the southwest corner of Main and Worthington streets.

Dr. Reuben Champion was born in 1784, ten years after the organization of the town of West Springfield. His grandfather served as surgeon in the Revolutionary War, and died at Ticonderoga in 1777, at the age of 50 years. Doctor Reuben was educated at Westfield Academy and studied medicine with Doctor Sumner. He attended lectures at Dartmouth College, then directed by Dr. Nathan Smith, the founder of the school. He received special instruction from Doctor Smith in the then designated new treatment of typhus fever. Subsequently he attended lectures at New York. Afterwards, by request of citizens, he returned to his native town and commenced practice in 1809, and became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1812. He continued his life work for nearly fifty years, and died in 1865, aged 81 years. He adopted the improved sustaining treatment of fevers, much opposed at first by the profession and the laity. His success, however, triumphed

over all opposition, and his reputation led to general recognition of his abilities. He faithfully served his native town in positions of trust and honor, being at one time elected Senator in the State Legislature.

Dr. Alonzo Chapin's name appears on the catalogue of the society as a resident of Springfield. He became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1836, and died in 1876, aged 71. Very few records of his life work appear.

Dr. W. L. Fitch joined the society in 1837, and died in 1872. He practiced a while in Huntington. While in Springfield he was located for many years next to Forbes & Wallace's new block on Pynchon street. He died at the age of 69. His daughter is the wife of Mr. Homer Merriam.

Dr. John Van Horn was one of the earliest if not the first practitioner of medicine located in West Springfield after its incorporation as a town. He was born in Springfield in 1726, and was graduated from Yale College in 1749. In 1785 he joined the Massachusetts Medical Society, and remained in West Springfield nearly sixty years. He died in 1805, at the age of 79. He sustained a good reputation, not only as a physician, but as a literary man and a good citizen.

Dr. Chauncey Brewer was born in Springfield in 1743, and graduated at Yale, 1762. Doctor Brewer was active in sustaining the War of the Revolution. He and his wife joined the First Church in 1781 and at one time he was a deacon. He had a successful practice, and died in March, 1830, at the age of 87. Several interesting anecdotes are reported of him, for the entertainment of the older physicians, as well as the more modern. He had a sharp lookout for quacks. A certain Indian doctor had charge of a patient who did not improve to the satisfaction of friends, and so they called Doctor Brewer as counsel with others. They crossed the river on a ferryboat, made a careful examination, and decided that the treatment was not appropriate. The diagnosis of the case and directions for treatment were written out in the Latin language, and the friends were directed to lay the papers before the Indian and ask his opinion. When the Indian came to see his patient the papers were presented to him, that he might learn of them the conclusion arrived

at by the council. The Indian turned the guns upon his enemies, wrote out in the Indian language directions for the white doctors to follow, and quietly bade them good-by. With the shrewdness of the joke all were pleased. The patient recovered.—At a period when Rev. Joseph Lathrop had become well advanced in years, the parson and Doctor Brewer were chatting together in Brewer's drug store when suddenly Doctor Brewer remarked, "Mr. Lathrop, I have a grudge against you for punishing me unjustly while a pupil under your instruction, and I have always thought when old enough I would have my revenge." "Well," said the aged parson, rising and pulling off his coat, "we might as well settle the matter now as any time." The joke was well enjoyed by the bystanders. By one record the doctor is said to have joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1785. His name does not appear in the regular catalogue, but the record of the doings of the chancellors states that he was approved in 1785.

Dr. David Chauncey Brewer, born December 27, 1772, was educated as physician, but practiced only a short time. He afterwards engaged with Dr. Joshua Frost in the drug business, in the premises which H. & J. Brewer now occupy. He died September 30, 1848, aged 75 years and 9 months.

Dr. Amos Skeele was born in that part of the town of Woodbury, Connecticut, now known as Southbury, April 25 (O. S.), May 6, (N. S.), 1750. He grew up on his father's farm, enduring the privations and sacrifices incident to colonial life in the days before the Revolution. After the battle of Lexington the call came for troops, and he enlisted July 13, 1775, in the Seventh Regiment of Connecticut State troops, commanded by Colonel Charles Webb in the Fifth company, Capt. Nathaniel Tuttle. The companies were stationed at various places along the Sound, until September 14th, when, on call from General Washington the regiment was ordered to the Boston camps, and assigned to General Sullivan's brigade on Winter Hill. They remained there until their time of service ended, December 30, 1775. These regiments were raised by the colonies to meet an emergency, and their service was limited to short terms. They were disbanded at this time, because it was supposed that military opera-

tions would cease for the winter, as had been the case in the French and Indian wars. It was soon found necessary, however, to organize new forces, and both Congress and Washington urged the soldiers who had been in the field to re-enlist. Many of them did so, among them Amos Skeele. Colonel Webb remained in charge of his regiment, but the name was changed to "The Nineteenth Continental Foot." They marched under Washington from Boston to New York, going by way of New London and the Sound. They were engaged in fortifying New York, were at the Brooklyn front in the battle of White Plains, October 28th, and at Trenton, December 25th. Their service closed with the year 1776. Amos Skeele was at home planning for re-enlistment, when the British under General Tryon made an attack on Danbury, where the American Army had valuable stores. The militia gathered hurriedly in defense. He was made captain of a volunteer company, and during the skirmish was seriously wounded in his right arm. This ended his service in the Revolutionary War, and turned his attention to the study of medicine. He was for a time in Litchfield, but the greater part of his studies were with Doctor Hastings of Bethlehem. While here he had the privilege of sitting under the preaching of Doctor Bellamy, the noted theologian, which contributed much to the formation of his religious character. He entered upon practice in Hampton, 1783, going from there to Middle Haddam in 1787. From there he removed to Somers in 1795, where he remained until 1804, when he settled in Chicopee, then the second parish of Springfield. He was the first and for many years the only physician between Springfield and Hadley, and his practice included Ludlow, South Hadley and Holyoke as well as Chicopee. He died in Chicopee in March, 1843, at the age of 93, having continued in practice until he was past eighty years old. He was for many years deacon in the church, and was active and successful in his profession and in promoting all worthy and philanthropic objects. He had the courage of his convictions and never hesitated as to any course of action which he believed to be right. Dr. David Field said of him: "For a very long period he discharged the duties of piety to God and beneficence to man, with remarkable fidelity." Doctor Skeele was twice married. His first wife was

Mercy Otis of Colchester, and his second Lucy Sexton of Somers. His children were four sons and three daughters. The Rev. Dr. Amos Skeele of Rochester, New York, is his grandson.

In Agawam and Feeding Hills several physicians once practiced. Dr. Cyrus Bell served the community as a physician over forty years in the latter location. He was much respected, an active member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and a prominent and much-honored citizen. In Agawam Dr. Edwin McCray and Dr. Calvin Wheeler once were in practice. In the village cemetery we find a memorial tablet on which is inscribed,

IN MEMORY OF
JOHN LEONARD, M.D.
WHO DIED NOV. 28, 1744
IN THE 69th YEAR OF HIS AGE

He sought after Wisdom and found her dwelling
with Honesty.

In the cemetery at Feeding Hills there is a stone with the inscription,

IN MEMORY OF
DR. JOSHUA DAY
WHO DIED OCT. 26th
1815
AGED 40 YEARS

Dr. Artemus Bell, a brother of Dr. Cyrus Bell, practiced a while in the same location and died March 18, 1877. In another cemetery several other monuments to the memory of physicians are still found. Among them is one to Dr. Timothy Horton, who died October 3, 1795; and in another to Dr. Timothy Horton, Jr., who died January 31, 1837. The latter once occupied and owned the place lately belonging to the estate of Judge Wells. Here also were interred Dr. Timothy Cooper, who died January 21, 1782, and Lieut. Lambert Cooper, M.D., a skillful physician, who died December 22, 1755, aged 54 years.

Dr. Gideon Kibbee of Wilbraham became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1822, practiced thirty-seven years,

and died in 1859, aged 80 years. He was greatly respected both as a physician and a citizen.

Dr. Aaron King of Palmer joined the society in 1816; died 1861, aged 79 years. He practiced in Palmer for many years; was much respected as a physician, both by the laity and the profession. In the latter part of his life he adopted homoeopathy as an improvement on the old methods of treatment.

Dr. Samuel Kingsbury practiced in Springfield from 1810 to 1828. He became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1816; died 1828, aged 46 years.

Dr. Seth Lathrop, son of Rev. Dr. Joseph Lathrop, born 1762, united with the society 1817; died 1831, aged 69 years. Of him Dr. H. Bronson says: "He was a man of strong mind, sound judgment, excellent common sense; was frank, social, fond of anecdote, well read in medical literature, an able and acceptable practitioner."

Dr. Jonathan Shearer of Palmer joined the society in 1811; died 1825, aged 58 years; was a successful practitioner. His home and office was on the main road from Collins Depot (North Wilbraham) to Palmer. He had a son, Marcus Shearer, who joined the Hampden District Medical Society in 1841; died 1854, aged 62 years.

Dr. Z. Sheldon became a member in 1811; died 1817, aged 54 years. I find no record of his work.

Dr. Edward Goodrich Ufford of West Springfield and Agawam was born in East Windsor, Connecticut, November 7, 1801; joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1839; died August 25, 1889, aged 87 years. He studied medicine with his uncle, Daniel Ufford, of Wilbraham, and afterwards with Dr. George Peters of Bolton, Connecticut. He was examined and received a diploma from Yale University; subsequently he attended lectures in Philadelphia at two different times. He first located in West Suffield, Connecticut, then in South Hadley, Massachusetts, afterwards, in 1855, in West Springfield, and lastly in Agawam. He had four wives—first, he married Miss Rowena Lathrop of Wilbraham, October 30, 1820, who bore him seven children, of whom only one is now living; second, he married Widow Phelon; afterwards Miss Cornelia Loomis, and lastly Miss Helen M. Bodurtha, March, 1884. His last wife is now living

in Springfield, and gave me the above record. For many years he was an attendant of the meetings of the Medical Society, and took active part in the scientific discussions.

At one time there was located in Springfield a Doctor De Chene, but there is no available record of his life work.

A Doctor Cleveland practiced in Springfield at one time, but little of his record is known; also a Doctor Swan, whose work is remembered by some of the oldest inhabitants. His education was excellent, he being a graduate in arts from Harvard College and in medicine from Jefferson Medical College in 1826. Dr. John Long, who practiced in Ireland Parish (now Holyoke), joined the society in 1808.

Dr. Lucius Wright was born in 1793; joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1821. He practiced in Willimansett, Salem, Montgomery, and at last in Westfield. He was a successful physician and a scholarly man; somewhat of a politician, having represented his district two terms in the General Court.

Dr. John Stone was born in Rutland, the central town of this State, in 1763. He received a good academical education, and studied medicine with Dr. John Frink of his native town. He commenced practice in Greenfield and soon obtained extensive patronage. On account of poor health he removed to New York in 1805, where he remained about two years, and while there he became an active member of the New York Medical Society. Having recovered his health, he returned to Greenfield and remained there in practice until 1819; then he removed to Providence and remained there about two years, when he located in Springfield, where he acquired and maintained a lucrative practice until his death in 1838. In 1803 he became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In 1824 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine from Williams College. He instructed many office students. In his manners Doctor Stone was a perfect gentleman. Only a few days since I met a number of aged lady residents of Springfield, all of whom remembered Doctor Stone and his urbanity and winning manners and neatness of dress. His example and success teaches the value of the advice of the ancient School of Salernum:

"Let doctors call in clothing fine arrayed,
With sparkling jewels on their hands displayed;
And, if their means allow, let there be had
To ride, a showy, rich attired pad;
For when well dressed and looking very nice
You may presume to charge a higher price.
Some patients always pay those doctors best
Who make their calls in finest clothing dressed;
While such as go about in simple frieze
Must put up with the meanest grade of fees;
For thus it is *poor* doctors everywhere
Get but the smallest pittance for their share."

Doctor Stone was always ready to respond to the call of any patient, however poor, and few physicians could do as much professional work so quickly and well. His mind continued active to the close of life, and his decease was universally deplored.

Dr. J. H. Flint became a member in 1812; died in 1846, aged 60 years. Doctor Flint was born in Leicester, Massachusetts, the son of Dr. Austin Flint, who was also a physician of the town of Leicester. He joined the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1804, and died in 1850, at 91 years. Dr. J. H. Flint, his son, first practiced in Petersham,, where he married his first wife. Afterward he removed to Northampton and there remained till 1837, when he removed to Springfield, where he practiced his profession until his death. He married for his second wife Miss Amelia Dwight of Northampton. Dr. Austin Flint, Sr., of New York, was his son.

Dr. Jefferson Church was born in Middlefield, Hampshire County, in 1802. He studied medicine in and graduated from the Berkshire Medical College in 1825. He first practiced in the town of Peru, Berkshire County, where he remained about one year; then he located in Springfield, where he remained until his death, in 1885, aged 83 years. He was a man of studious habits and well versed in his profession. He married, in 1823, Miss Betsey, daughter of Joseph Little of Middlefield. She died in 1826. His second wife was Miss Eliza Houpt of Herkimer County, New York. Doctor Church, in company with Dr. Edward Seegar, published *Tully's Materia Medica*. Doctor Church was much interested in the anti-slavery movement, almost from its beginning.

Dr. Edward Seegar was born in Northampton in 1811, and was of German descent. He graduated from the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia in 1832, when he located in Springfield, and here remained for thirty-four years, until his death in 1866, aged 55 years. His sufferings from a cancerous affection were long and painful. Doctor Seegar identified himself with the Abolition and Free-soil parties. He was an able man, a good writer and practitioner. In company with Doctor Church, he published for some time *Tully's Materia Medica*. For his first wife he married the sister of the late Homer Foot of this city, and for his second and surviving one the daughter of John H. White of Lancaster, New Hampshire.

Seventy-two years ago many of the places not far from Walnut street and around the Watershops were but a howling wilderness, and the people thereabouts were superstitiously fearful of anatomical dissections. Horrible to them was the thought of living in the vicinity of

"an anatomist who with all his
Band of rude disciples, o'er the subject hung
And impolitely hewed his way through bones
And muscles of the sacred human form,
Exposing barbarously to wanton gaze the mysteries of nature."

In that part of our city, then a town, resided a talented graduate of Harvard Medical College, Dr. W. L. Loring. His practice was not sufficient to furnish him the means for support, yet he was well qualified and ambitious. In short

"Chill penury repressed his noble rage
And froze the genial current of his soul."

In his desperation he disturbed the ashes of the dead and sold them to Pittsfield Medical College. The news was spread abroad and there was a general uprising of the people to punish the offenders. The result of this was the formation of an organization called "The Springfield Society for the Protection of the Ashes of the Dead." There are a few people today living in Springfield who can recall the important events which then transpired. By chance a few days ago the writer met ladies aged from seventy to eighty years who

in those early days knew well of Doctor Loring, and indeed some of them were his patients. The following is an abstract of the history of the doings, arrest and trial of the doctor, as recorded in the *Springfield Republican* some years ago. These occurrences took place from 1826 to 1830.

The story of Doctor Loring is found in an old scrapbook in the public library, written by a reporter of the *Republican*, said to have been Dr. Alfred Booth. Doctor Loring lived near the Armory, sixty years ago. The town was then a mere village. The good people were sound in their orthodoxy, and for the most part, doubtless, firm believers in a material resurrection of the body. What wonder then that the Satanic-like proceedings of body-snatching, even for the benefit of the medical students at Pittsfield, should fill the women with horror, the children with terror, and cause stern selectmen to offer the enormous reward of \$500 for the detection of the culprits. We read of the wicked doctor who was educated at Harvard, that his skill was never questioned save perhaps by some of his brother doctors, and but for his intemperate habits and the prejudices which surrounded him, owing to his resurrecting operations, he might have attained a competent and an enviable practice. But he was always poor, and in later years of his residence here was wretchedly so. The medical school at Pittsfield was then a young institution, and facilities for obtaining material for dissection were limited, and he undertook to supply the demand by furnishing skeletons, and if possible complete bodies. And then we read of ghastly operations that can furnish pleasure only to wild-cat medical students. The sight of the empty and unfilled grave of Jonathan M. Moulthrop in the graveyard at the foot of Elm street a few days after his death, February 25, 1826, sent a nervous chill up along State street. Moulthrop had hanged himself, and therefore was a pretty healthy corpse. As the body was found a short time after near the Armory, in good condition, no legal steps were taken, although everybody felt sure Doctor Loring did it. This event was not without its good influence, since the people began to think that the demand was greater for suicides than for anybody else, since suicides died in good condition. In his barn he had the body of an old tramp named Hanes, who had died in Wilbraham.

Three young men who had been watching for body-snatchers at the grave of a Mrs. Hamilton of Chicopee Falls, who had there killed herself in a crazy fit, seeing three men, supposed to be Doctor Loring, his student, Whitman, and Jacob Perkins, Jr., approach the grave, one of the spies in accents brave, cried, "What do you want there?" Whereupon the "snatchers" fled. The same body was stolen as soon as vigilance was relaxed. The general public fear and excitement increased to such an extent that people did not dare to bury the dead. A Mrs. Russell Curtis, in a fit of insanity, committed suicide, and friends, knowing that such were desired by the body-snatchers, dared not bury her. The funeral was held in the old Methodist church on Union street, and the body was kept in the home of the friends. Various suspicious characters were thought to be hovering around the house, supposed to be Pitts-

field medical students. After the second night the body was placed in the basement of the Methodist church and kept there for a long time.

Some time after the grave of William Nevers at the foot of Elm street was robbed, and the fact soon discovered. The matter came before the selectmen, investigation followed, and Doctor Loring, Jacob Perkins, Jr., and George Ball were arrested. The body was found at Westfield on its way to Pittsfield. The general excitement was intense. A tomb was built for protection of the dead. The trial took place in May, 1829. Perkins was fined \$50 and Doctor Loring \$500—which, report says, was remitted by the Governor's Council on the ground that his work was not wholly unworthy.

The general excitement tended to fasten suspicion on the doctor as author of every kind of similar conduct occurring in the community. On the northerly side of the park in West Springfield is an old brick house built in 1754. This was the home in which a girl 13 years old, about 1 o'clock at night, found herself in the arms of a strange man, being carried from her bedroom through the back part of the house around to the outside gate of the yard. There she came to her senses, and jumped from the stranger's arms, who tried to strangle her and enforce silence. Suddenly he dropped her, and she ran back to the house, and there found her father preparing to pursue the invader. The neighborhood was aroused, yet the author of the foul deed was not found. Afterward during investigation three persons were brought before the girl for identification, one of whom was Doctor Loring. She selected him from the others as the guilty one, yet she could not be positive on this point and did not make the statement with absolute certainty of truth.

When a child the writer remembers well how a cousin of his over Wilbraham Mountain every night in winter poured water around the window casings and sash, in order that the ice formed from it might prevent Doctor Loring from opening the windows and carrying away herself or some of the family. The doctor's reputation destroyed his practice. His family suffered from poverty. His wife, esteemed by the more sympathetic ladies of the town, was a woman of many good qualities. She was reported to have said she had often been compelled to sleep in a bed with dead bodies hidden underneath. The doctor soon disappeared, much to the joy of the people. She bore him a son and two daughters. The latter married clergymen and are now living in another part of the country.

It is gratifying to turn from Doctor Loring's doings to the history of one exhibiting characteristics of an entirely different nature, of one who seemed to be in the medical sciences what Byron was in poetry—"A man who seemed to be of large understanding, of memory infinite, of judgment deep; who knew all learning, and all science knew." A descendant of Colonel William and Eunice Tully, whose ancestors came from England in 1647, an only child, their son William was born at Saybrook Point, Connecticut, November 18, 1785.

Even in childhood he manifested great interest in books, and this was cultivated by freely furnishing them for the development of the boy. Until 1801 he was sent to the free district school; from here he was promoted to receive instruction, first in English studies, then in Latin and Greek, from Frederick W. Hotchkiss of his parish. In September of 1802 he entered the freshman class of Yale College, from which he graduated in 1806. During his after life he suffered much embarrassment from his imperfect preparation and subsequent deficiency in mathematics, in the study of which he had but little pleasure. For a few months afterwards he taught in a common school in Saybrook. In 1807 he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Mason F. Cogswell of Hartford, Connecticut. In 1808 he went to Dartmouth College, and attended lectures under Dr. Nathan Smith, who taught Theory and Practice, Surgery, Materia Medica, Obstetrics and Chemistry, practically carrying the medical school on his shoulders. At the close of this course of lectures he returned to Doctor Cogswell as an office student. In October he returned to Hanover, and completed a second course of lectures. Then he studied a while with Dr. Samuel Carter of Saybrook, and in March, 1810, he entered the office of Dr. Eli Ives of New Haven. Here he made a special study of botany, of which he acquired much accurate knowledge. In October following, after the usual examination, he received a license to practice from the president and Fellows of the Connecticut Medical Society. In 1819 the honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred upon him by Yale College. After graduating he taught school for a few months. In May, 1811, he commenced practice in Enfield, Connecticut. In 1812 he removed to Milford, in the same State, and in 1816 to Middletown. While there he published, in 1820, in *Silliman's Journal of Science*, a paper on the "Erget of Rye." Doctor Tully and Dr. Thomas Miner, in 1823, published a volume entitled "Essays on Fevers, and Other Medical Subjects." It was revolutionary in teaching, controverting old methods of treatment. Diverse criticism was called forth by the paper, as it condemned antiphlogistics and advocated stimulants and supporting remedies in fevers.

In 1822 Doctor Tully removed to East Hartford, and while there,

in 1824, was appointed Professor of Theory and Practice in the medical school at Castleton, Vermont. In January, 1826, he entered into a professional partnership with Dr. Alden March of Albany, New York, where he had a prosperous business, lecturing a part of the time at Castleton. He was connected with the Vermont school until 1828, when he resigned. While in Albany he published his prize essay on "*Sanguinaria Canadensis*," which was a scholarly and scientific paper on our indigenous materia medica, adding to his reputation. In 1829 Doctor Tully succeeded Eli Ives, M.D., as Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, and in May, 1830, removed to New Haven, with his family. He, however, continued to lecture in Castleton, Vermont, a part of the year. Here everything for a time seemed to move on satisfactorily, but his pecuniary compensation was only \$800 a year. In *Silliman's Journal* of January, 1832, he published a paper on results of experiments and observations on "Narcotine, and Sulphate of Morphine." This was copied in several other medical publications. In 1833 he was invited to accept a professorship in the medical college of South Carolina, which he declined. The last course delivered in New Haven was in 1840-41, soon after which he resigned. For a while slander, "that foulest whelp of Sin," attacked his reputation and temporarily gave him mental torture.

In the spring of 1851 Doctor Tully came to Springfield, where he remained until his death, February 28, 1859. They had ten children, of whom three, two daughters and a son, survived his decease. While in Springfield, through the aid of Drs. J. Church and E. Seegar, his work on Materia Medica, and Pharmacology and Therapeutics was published in two large volumes. It, however, was not completed in full, being a work of classification and general principles. The details were not carried out, and so the profession is deprived of many practical points which would have been elucidated in the concluding publications. As it is, it is a wonderful monument to his industry and a proof of his great learning. It was not designed for students so much as for the more learned and advanced members of the profession. Accurate definitions, clear-cut distinctions, and carefully drawn lines of demarcation abound throughout

the work. There is nothing in which his original study is more apparent than in his disclosures of the properties, relations and medicinal powers of our indigenous vegetable remedies. In this respect his work was far in advance of his times. Doctor Bronson calls him the most learned and thoroughly scientific physician in New England. "If his equal may be found anywhere I am ignorant of it." His knowledge of botany was extensive and very accurate. In chemistry, particularly organic and pharmaceutical, he was an expert, and (at his time) had no rival in this country. His studies took a wide range. With physiology he was familiar. Latin and Greek were his special acquisitions, which he used so often in his work as to make the reader seek his dictionaries and compel him to study or lose his clear idea. He was a discriminating practitioner as well as an accurate student. He examined patients carefully and made a sure diagnosis. Dr. Noah Webster and Professor Goodrich depended upon his assistance in furnishing definitions in anatomy, physiology, medicine and botany, for the great dictionary which is known wherever the English language prevails. He was an able and interesting lecturer. Language was a specialty of his. His conversation, once called forth, seemed to have no end. He would sometimes when visiting patients commence and repeat poems in Latin and Greek until they became anxious to retire for rest and cerebral recuperation. His criticisms of authors with whom he did not agree were severe. For popular errors on medical topics and the superficial hygienic literature of the time he had no toleration. He could not endure ignorance and stupidity, nor the interference of others with his directions and prescriptions. He was positive, and often impolitic—so far above the common mind that he could not so well please the common people. His directions must be followed to the letter, and so he was not in consequence a popular physician. His enthusiasm for science was contagious. He electrified, almost hypnotized, his students, and awakened in them the scientific spirit. So thoroughly trained were many of his pupils that they became distinguished scholars, through his application of scientific stimuli. Stimulants and tonics were with Doctor Tully favorite remedies, while he heaped unmeasured condemnation on

venesection, exhausting cathartics, antimonials, and alkaline salts, and all general antiphlogistics. Thus he became a subject of criticism by practitioners holding different views, but in his professional intercourse he was scrupulously honorable and manly, never taking undue advantage of a rival. Yet he was dissatisfied with the world, and somewhat misanthropic.

The doctor thus speaks of himself: "The emoluments of the medical profession are by no means in proportion to the amount of business done, and as for the medical schools in New England (unless those of Boston are an exception), they diminish rather than increase the income of the instructors; at least, such has certainly been the fact as respects myself, though I have wasted my time sixteen years in one institution and fourteen in another." Says Doctor Bronson: "Sum up all his imperfections and deduct them from his merits, and there is enough left to make a man of—a whole man and (may I not add?) a great man." His greatness consisted in his ability to do scientific work, and to make original investigations, and thereby add much to the sum total of human knowledge. He made many discoveries whose usefulness is a monument to his memory. The facts which he collected and classified and the improvements he suggested and applied in treatment have added much to the utility and value of the medical profession,—

"Whose honors with increase of ages grow,
As streams roll down enlarging as they flow."

The following is EDWARD A. HALL's paper:

The Irish Pioneers of the Connecticut Valley

THE history of a people, the origin of a nation, the development of its institutions and the gradual unification of the various races contributing to its population, is a subject of the greatest interest to the lover of history, and in no country of modern times can the student of history find more interesting material to repay him for his labors than in our own country. One of the earliest historical writers of America said that, "This country was simply Europe transplanted, because its people are mostly descended from the colonists and immigrants who came here from the countries of Europe, until the whole country, especially the large cities, appeared like an international convention or a perennial conclave or concourse of people from everywhere."

While all the countries of Europe contributed to our population, those countries speaking our language are naturally credited with having furnished more people than all the others to our population. Every generation tends to assimilate all races and nationalities toward the race whose language is spoken here. In this same sense the country wherein is the seat of government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has been credited with contributions to the population of these United States at the expense of other parts of the Kingdom, and this is true of Ireland in particular, which, owing to various causes and circumstances almost too numerous to mention, enabled the sister island to receive more credit, in this as in other matters, than she was ever entitled to.

The great mass of the people who compose the tide of emigration, people who leave their own for another country, do so usually because they are dissatisfied with their condition in their native land, and hope to secure a greater measure of happiness under the flag of some other nation. Next to the conditions that forced millions of people to leave home and country and kindred and brought them here and will continue to influence other millions in the future, is, perhaps, three or four little sentences written by Thomas Jefferson and signed by the fathers of the Republic. That the truths of the

Declaration of Independence were uttered against the government of England also contributed very largely to influence and direct Irish emigration to the United States of America.

Since the organization of the American-Irish Historical Society in Boston about seven years ago, by a group of men representing the several States of the Union, with President Theodore Roosevelt, whose father's mother was an Irish woman, as one of the charter members, and Rear Admiral Richard W. Meade as the first president general, many important facts have been recorded of the contributions of the Irish race in the building up of this Republic.

A distinguished statesman and statistician recently stated that within the memory of men now living upwards of twenty-one millions of immigrants arrived and settled in the United States. This same authority states that almost two-thirds of our entire population is represented by English and Irish blood in about equal proportions. In this computation it should always be remembered that England was given credit for many of the earlier Irish emigrants who were obliged to sail from English ports and compelled to adopt English surnames. It is, however, with the thousands of Irish pioneers who immigrated to this country before the time of men now living and who settled many of the towns in or bordering on the Connecticut valley that we wish to occupy the attention of the members of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society.

Up to a few years ago the popular opinion seemed to be that the Irish first began crossing the Atlantic after the famine of 1846, or about the time of the building of canals and railroads. That many Irish men and women came to this locality and participated in the formation of the first settlements, that is from 1635 to 1735, practically the first hundred years of American life, the records of the towns will prove.

The descendants of the old settlers here, in most instances, ceased to look upon their ancestors as Irishmen, or at least to forget about, or appear not to be familiar, with their Irish origin, because of the prejudices that existed respecting the more recent comers, from the "ever green isle," and have tended to make them disinclined to acknowledge an ancestry which was so little in general favor and popularity.

As we become more educated, intelligent and enlightened as a people and become familiar by careful study with the early history of our country, we will learn to our great advantage of the names and deeds of illustrious Irishmen who played a most prominent part in the establishment of this government, and we will appreciate more fully something of the pride that should animate us for being so fortunate as to be able to trace our ancestry back to such worthy relationship.

The people of this race, men and women, born on Irish soil, and their descendants have been here from the first, prompted by the motives common to all emigration, dissatisfaction with the old order of things and the resolve to obtain a freer and better life in the new land under favorable conditions. Here in the Connecticut valley—the best, the cleanest and strongest blood of Europe, has come in to strengthen and accentuate the old stock that existed here, and the result has been the enterprising and progressive communities of today in the cities and towns of the Connecticut valley.

A recent publication announced the death of Sir William MacCormic, who died a few weeks ago, as the celebrated “English surgeon,” although he was born in Ireland. This was probably why he was called English, as was also the case of the Duke of Wellington, Edmond Burke, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Dean Swift, Justin McCarthy, and other famous Irishmen. This is even worse than being called “Scotch-Irish,” as is the fate of many of our famous Americans of Irish ancestry.

We are all Americans and the Irish are all Irish, whether their ancestors were from Spain, or France, or England, or Scotland; they all became Irish as we became Americans, and those who came here in the early days of the colonies represented all the blending of these races. We are all of us the resultant of a great many different and, apparently, antagonistic races. We commonly became Irish, Scotch, or American as the result of the surroundings of two or three generations.

The American-Irish Historical Society questions the authority of calling persons English, French, German, or any other origin bearing distinctively Irish names. Facts are necessary; rumors and assertions

will not answer. In this scientific and practical age of the 20th century we discard the legendary and mythical. Enough has been lost through change of names and by misrepresentation. We accept no historical data that will not bear the modern search-light of investigation.

It was on the 17th of June, 1643, only 23 years after the "Mayflower," with its 100 souls on board, landed on the historic rock of Plymouth, that an Irish emigration took place that put the small Pilgrim colony in the shade. It had become obvious to far-seeing men that the American colonies only needed population to make them prosperous, and in no country in the world were the conditions so favorable for emigration as in Ireland, and little encouragement was necessary, and inducements were not wanting. The Commissioners of Ireland, September 14, 1642, contracted with Capt. John Vernon, William Leader and Daniel Sellick, to supply them with 250 women of the Irish nation, above 15 years and under 50, and 300 young men, to be found in the country within 20 miles of Cork, Kerry, Waterford, Wexford and Tipperary, to import into New England. Here, then, at the very fountain-head of American colonies in New England we find 550 men and women in the prime of life, drawn from the purest blood of the South of Ireland, infused into the primal stock of the American people.

Samuel Hall, John Oldham and two or three others from Dorchester, whose names have not come down to us, were probably the first white men who ever stood on the banks of the Connecticut River in the vicinity of Springfield.

These explorers and prospectors, on the invitation of the natives of this valley and at the request of the people of Roxbury and Dorchester, traveled through the wilderness accompanied by an Indian guide, and arrived on its banks during the summer of 1633. They were welcomed by the native inhabitants who entertained them during their visit. They were so pleased with the hospitality they received, as well as with the "Great River" and the beautiful and fertile valley through which it flowed, that on their return in the late fall, their report was so favorable that many of the settlers of the Roxbury plantation decided to migrate westward.

The first settlements in the Connecticut valley were made from Cambridge, Dorchester and Watertown to the towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield in Connecticut. This migration took place in 1634-35. It was of a wholesale character, almost depopulating the towns in the eastern part of Massachusetts. Along with this exodus there went another from Roxbury, led by William Pynchon, in May, 1636. This migration settled on the eastern bank of the Connecticut in Springfield. Middletown, Connecticut, was settled soon after and may possibly have been called after Middleton in Ireland.

Among the early records we find that Henry Chapin sold to John Riley sixteen acres of land running 120 rods along on the west side of the Connecticut River, November 4, 1684, the property being described in the record as "West of the Connecticut River and north from the Riley tract," which would indicate that the sixteen acres was an additional tract to other lands previously owned by some member of the Riley family. The sale was witnessed by Miles Morgan, who made his mark in the form of a pick-axe, and the deed was recorded by John Holyoke. This is a part of the territory known as "Ireland Parish" and is the present site of the Holy Family Institute for orphan children at Brightside.

Among the very early Irish settlers whose descendants are at present residents of the Connecticut valley and of whom we have authentic records, a few families deserve special mention because of the prominence to which they have attained in this community. We have shown that Irish men and women, boys and maidens, were imported to these colonies in the very first years of the settlements, while in June, 1643, an Irish immigration took place that far outnumbered the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts.

Of the descendants of these early settlers, Hall J. Kelly, one of the most enterprising men of Palmer, who developed the village of Three Rivers, and who was born in New Hampshire, August 24, 1790, is a descendant of John Kelly, who settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1633.

John Riley and his wife Grace O'Dea came to this country from Ireland about the year 1634. They settled at Hartford, Connecticut,

where their first two children were born, John in 1646 and Joseph in 1649, after which they moved to West Springfield, where Jonathan was born in 1651, and afterwards, Mary, Grace, Sarah, Jacob and Isaac, the date of whose births are unknown, but all the eight children are named in this order in his will of 1671. With the Rileys came a nephew of Mr. Riley named John Riley, and a young sister of Mrs. Riley named Margaret O'Dea. This couple were married at Springfield in 1660 and had two daughters, Margaret, born December 21, 1662, and Mary, born June 2, 1665. John died October 24, 1684, and his wife died August 22, 1689. He had two brothers, Richard, who remained in Hartford, and Patrick who, with his wife Bridget, removed to Middletown.

Garret and Miles Riley came in 1634 from County Longford, Ireland. Patrick and Richard Riley came to Windsor and Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1639. John Riley and wife, Margaret, came to Springfield in 1640, where two daughters were born: Mary, born June 2, 1665, married Joseph Ely, June 2, 1685; Margaret, born December 21, 1662, married William McCraney, July 19, 1685. Children:

JOHN, drowned June 7, 1687.

• THOMAS, born October 7, 1687, married Dorothy Barns.

MARGARET, born September 9, 1689, married Joseph Conley.

MARY, born November 2, 1690, married Thomas Bliss.

SARAH, born April 9, 1692, married John Sackett.

JOHN, born May 13, 1694.

WILLIAM, born December 14, 1695.

MERCY and THANKFUL (twins), born July 22, 1697. Mercy married Joseph Ball, July 21, 1719. Thankful married Joseph Burt.

ABIGAIL, born December 1, 1699, married Nathaniel Williams.

Margaret Riley died soon after the birth of this child Abigail, and Mr. McCraney married the widow Mary Miller, April 20, 1702, to whom the following children were born:

RUTH, born June 2, 1703, married Ebenezer Taylor.

RACHAEL, born October 27, 1704, married Nathaniel Church.

BESSIE, born July 30, 1707, died January 20, 1713.

QUINITH, born June 10, 1709, married Patience Stockwell.

William McCraney died October 25, 1725, and most of the male members of his family removed to Westfield. The descendants of

his fourteen children became too numerous to follow up the genealogy.

John Cleary of Hadley died in 1691. His son John was born October 4, 1647, while his son John, Jr., was born April 3, 1671, and was slain in Brookfield in 1709. Joseph, son of old John, was born November 30, 1677; and Joseph, son of John 3d, died in 1748. Joseph's son, Joseph, was born September 3, 1705.

John Clark was born in Ireland, 1704. He had two sons, John and Moses, living with him at Hadley.

John McClane of Westfield, Massachusetts, married Loraney Olds, in 1745.

Thomas McClintock married Sarah King of Palmer, Massachusetts, October 29, 1747.

Brick McClane of Springfield married Elizabeth Glynn of Hartford, Connecticut, October 14, 1775. The wedding took place at Hartford.

William McIntire married the widow Leonard, July 31, 1736. She was Sarah, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Riley) Ely.

John McKimtry of Cabotville married Eonie Smith, February 20, 1760.

Patrick Marshall died at Springfield, Massachusetts, April 18, 1725.

Robert Hamilton died at Springfield, Massachusetts, September 9, 1683.

William Doyle and wife, Elizabeth, had a daughter born, Elizabeth, July 24, 1782.

James McGill of Enfield died 1697.

William Cunningham was drowned at Springfield, September 12, 1685.

James Canada, or Kennedy, came a stranger and died here September 12, 1689.

Bridget Clifford married John Huggins. She remained as his widow several years and died May 7, 1695, leaving three sons: John Huggins married Hannah Barkley of Suffield, Connecticut, in 1681; Nathaniel married Experience Jones; James was killed by the Indians at Durham, Connecticut, in 1688. John moved to Springfield with his children, Joseph, Samuel, Hannah, Margaret and Bridget.

Michael Towsley and his wife, Mary, lived at Suffield, Connecticut, and had these children:

- ANNIE, born July 12, 1683.
- MICHAEL, born January 14, 1685.
- MARGARET, born July 11, 1687.
- MATTHEW, born November 3, 1690.
- MARY, died in infancy.
- NATHANIEL, died February 8, 1696.
- JOHN, born September 16, 1694.
- NATHANIEL, born March 17, 1697.
- JOSEPH, born July 4, 1698.

Michael Towsley came to Springfield after the death of his wife, Mary, and married Hannah Stebbins, March 11, 1712; to whom two sons were born, Reuben, November 8, 1718, and Abner, March 27, 1721. Michael Towsley removed with his family to Brimfield, where he died.

Ruth Cogan of Suffield, Connecticut, married Samuel Taylor, June 24, 1675. Their children were:

- REBECCA, born November 7, 1676, married William Pritchard.
- RUTH, born August 18, 1678, died February 7, 1682.
- ANNA, born August 17, 1680. (Three born at Springfield.)
- MARY, born 1682.
- MARTHA, born February 12, 1684.
- RUTH, born April 8, 1688.
- THANKFUL, born May 19, 1689. (Three born at Suffield.)

After the death of Taylor, his widow married Thomas Copley, May 25, 1693.

John Coleman of Hatfield married Mary Stebbins, December 16, 1696. He was her third husband, Samuel Ely being her first husband and Thomas Stebbins her second. She was the daughter of Robert Day.

Daniel Collins came from Windsor, Connecticut, to Springfield.

Elizabeth Higgins of West Springfield married Thomas Burbank October 18, 1779.

John Bryant, or Brian, came from Boston to West Springfield, where he married Hannah Mason, August 10, 1779.

Joseph Gleason of Enfield married Sarah Hale November 9, 1759.

James Griffin married widow Osborne, at Springfield, January 5, 1788.

James Whalen and Levy, his wife, had a daughter Mary born July 26, 1788.

John Monroe and wife, Rachael, had a son born December 2, 1799, who was baptized Alexander.

Bridget Fitch was married on St. Patrick's day, 1709, to Jonathan Bossell at Windsor, Connecticut.

John Booth, whose father came from Wales, and his mother from Scotland, married Mary Gleason, from Ireland, 1728, at Windsor, Connecticut.

Patrick Casey's wife died at Windsor, Connecticut, February 28, 1799.

Mary Butler lived at Windsor, Connecticut, where she died in 1759.

Thomas Coleman came to Wethersfield, Connecticut, in 1639, with his wife and three children, and moved to Hadley in 1656. Their son John was born in the old country about 1635. He was made a freeman of Connecticut in 1658, and of Massachusetts in 1672.

Daniel Murphy married Elizabeth Knowlton, November 17, 1768. Their children were Daniel, born September 4, 1769; Sarah, born October 20, 1773.

Capt. John Katham, or Keating (from Galloway, New York), married widow Mary Wright, February 10, 1767.

William Walsh of Windsor married Thankful Wright, November 18, 1757.

John Shields married Hannah Lombard, March 26, 1754.

Batharda Coggin and John Barber were married at Windsor, Connecticut, December 2, 1663. Their children were:

JOANNA, born April 8, 1667, married Thomas Smith, March 18, 1688.

JOHN, born at Springfield, July 14, 1669; died October 21, 1690.

THOMAS, born February 4, 1674, married Sarah Ball.

MARY, born February 13, 1677, married Isaac Frost.

Mrs. Barber died in 1688, and her husband died January 27, 1712, and is buried in West Springfield.

Bridget Clifford, who died at Suffield, May 7, 1695, came from Ireland to this country with her brothers John aged 20, and Oliver 18, in the vessel "Primrose" for Virginia, July 27, 1635. John died December 25, 1668.

Michael Corbett was one of a committee appointed by the General Court of Connecticut to settle a dispute between the residents at Hartford and the members of a colony who wished to withdraw and settle at Hadley, Massachusetts. He had a large family, among the sons being William, James, Joseph and Rev. Thomas Corbett.

James Coggin and John Cogan from Dublin, Ireland, settled at Windsor and removed to Hartford in 1641.

John Connor, whose parents Philip and Mary Connor came from Cork, in 1634, was born at Middletown, June 14, 1686. His son John was taken prisoner at Quebec, 1775.

The Codmans were descended from William Cod, who came to this country from Ireland and settled at Amherst about 1740. The last syllable of the name was added by his sons, one of whom was Dr. Henry Codman, who died in 1812. Michael Carroll sold land in Hartford to Isaac Graham for £180, May 13, 1728, and his grandson, Michael Carroll, graduated from Harvard in 1813.

The first organized movement of the Irish people to emigrate to New England commenced early in the year 1718, when an address signed by about 320 leading Irishmen was presented to Governor Shute of Massachusetts, asking for sufficient encouragement from him to make the necessary arrangements for their reception. The address was couched in respectful language and signed by more than 300 adult men, among whom were clergymen and graduates of universities. This document is of great historic value locally and generally, as indicating the good state of education and intelligence among the peasantry of Ireland at that time, and it furnishes a list of the names of the ancestors of many of our most honored and respected families.

There is scarcely a territory settled or a town incorporated in Western Massachusetts since the date of their petition to Governor Shute but may be traced on the records the names of some of the men on this petition or those who immediately followed them from

Ireland, influenced by their example in coming and the inducements offered and the encouragement held out to them.

Of these men from Ireland who settled in New England towns a celebrated writer has said, "They were men of pluck and muscle who hued down the trees which built their frontier homes and churches, men who coveted no fine linen for their tables and were contented if they had enough of cornbread and potatoes, and yet imbued with such a thirst for learning that they became the founders of many of our foremost schools and colleges."

MEMORIAL TO GOVERNOR SHUTE

[COPIED FROM PARKER'S HISTORY OF LONDONDERRY.]

To His Excellency, the Right Honorable Colonel Samuel Suitte, Governor of Massachusetts in New England, America:

We whose names are underwritten, inhabitants of ye North of Ireland, doe in our own names and in the names of many of our neighbors, gentlemen, ministers, farmers and tradesmen, commissionate and appoint our trusty and well beloved friend, the Rev. William Boyd of Macasky to His Excellency the Right Honorable Colonel Samuel Suitte, Governor of New England, and to insure His Excellency of our sincere and hearty inclinations to transport ourselves to that very excellent and renowned plantation upon our obtaining from His Excellency suitable encouragement. And further to act and doe in our names as his prudence shall direct.

Given under our hands this 26th day of March, Annoy Dom. 1718.

JAMES TEATTE, V.D.M.	JOHN MUIR
THOMAS COBHAM, V.D.M.	WILLIAM JEAMSON
ROBERT HOUSTON, V.D.M.	WM. AGNEW
WILLIAM LECCH, V.D.M.	JEREMIAH THOMPSON
ROBERT HIGGINBOTTAM, V.D.M.	JOHN MITCHELL
JOHN PORTER, V.D.M.	JAMES PATTERSON
HENRY NEILL, V.D.M.	JOSEPH CURRY
THOMAS ELDER, V.D.M.	DAVID WILLSON
JAMES THOMSON, V.D.M.	PATRICK ANDERSON
ALEXANDER DUNLAP, M.A.	JOHN GRAY
ARCH M. COOK, M.A.	JAMES GREY
WILLIAM KER	ALEX'R MCBRIDE, Bart.
WILL McALBEN	SAM MCGIBORN
JOHN ANDERSON	JOHN MURDOCK
GEORGE GREGE	GEO. CAMPBELL
ANDREW DEAN	JAMES SHORSWOOD
ALEX'R BLAIR	JOHN McLAUGHLIN
B. COCHRAN	GEORGE McLAUGHLIN
WILLIAM GALT	JAMES HENRE
PETER THOMPSON	THOMAS RAMSAY
RICHARD McLAUGHLIN	FRANCIS RICHIE

JAMES GREGG	ADAM THOMPSON
ROBERT BOYD	ALEXANDER PATTISON
HUGH TARBEL	THOMAS DUNLAP
DAVID TARBEL	JOHN WILSON
JOHN ROBB	DAVID WILSON
JESTER FULTONE	JOHN MOORE
ROBERT WEAR	JAMES MCKEEN
ALEX. DONALDSON	JOHN LAMONT
ARCHD. DUGLASS	JOHN SMITH
ROBT. HENRY	PATRICK ORR
ROBERT STIVEN	BONILL ORR
JAMES PETTEY	WILLIAM ORR
DAVID BIGGER	JOHN ORR
DAVID PATTESON	JAMES LENOX
D. PATTESON, JR.	JOHN LESLIE
JOHN WIGHT	JOHN LASON
JOSEPH WIGHT	JOHN CALVIL
ROBERT WILLSON	SAMUEL WAT
JAMES BALL	JAMES CRAFTORD
ANDREW CORD	DAVID HENDERSON
JAMES NESMITH	MATHEW STORAH
JOHN BLACK	DAVID WIDBORN
JOHN THOMPSON	LUKE WAT
SAMUEL BOYD	ROBERT HENDRE
GEORGE MCALESTER	WILLIAM WALAS
LAWRENCE McLAUGHLIN	THOMAS WALAS
JOHN HESLET	THOMAS CEWCH
THOMAS RAMADGE	WILLIAM BOYD
JAMES CAMPELL	HUGH ORR
DAVID LINDSAY	ROBERT JOHNSTON
ROBERT GIVEEN	THOMAS BLACK
JAMES LAIDLEY	PETER MURRAY
BENJAMIN GALT	JOHN JAMESON
DAVID TODD	JOHN COCHRAN
ROBT. BARR	SAMUEL GONSTON
HUGH HOLLMES	THOMAS SHADEY
ROBT. KING	WILLIAM KER
JOHN BLACK, JR.	THOMAS MOORE
PETER CHRISTY	ANDREW WATSON
JAMES SMITH	JOHN TOMSON
JAMES SMITH, JR.	JAMES MCKERRALL
PATRICK SMITH	HUGH STOCKMAN
SAMUEL CEUERELLE	ANDREW COCHRAN
JAMES CRAIG	JAMES CARKLEY
SAMUEL WILSON, M.A.	LAWRENCE DOD
GAVEN GIRVEN	SANDS MEAR
ROBERT MILLER	JOHN JACKSON
THOMAS WILSON	JAMES CURRY
WILLIAM WILSON	JAMES ELDER
JAMES BRICE	JAMES ACTON
NIRIAN PATTISON	JAMES ACTON, JR.
JAMES THOMPSON	SAMUEL SMITH
JOHN THOMPSON	ANDREW DODGE
ROBERT THOMPSON	JAMES FORSAITH

ANDREW FLEEMING
GEORGE THOMSON
JAMES BROUSTER
THOMAS BROUSTER
JAMES BEVERLAN
PETER SIMPSON
THOMAS McLAUGHLIN
ROBERT BOYD
ANDREW AGNEW
JAMES KING
THOMAS ELDER
DANIEL JOHNSTON
ROBERT WALKER
DAVID JOHNSTON
JAMES STEWART
JOHN MURRAY
THOMAS BLACKWEL
THOMAS WILSON
WILLIAM JOHNSTON
JOHN ROSS
ANDREW CURRY
JOHN KING
JAMES CURRY
JOHN CURRY
SAMUEL CODE
JAMES BLAKE
THOMAS GRO
THOMYS OUSTON
JAME GRO
JOHN CLARK
THOMAS BOYD, JR.
THOMAS McFADER
DAVID HANSON
RICHARD ACTON
JAMES CLAIRE
JACOB CLARK
ABRAM BABERLEY
STEPHEN MURDOCK
ROBERT MURDOCK
JOHN MURDOCK
WILLIAM JENNSON
JAMES RODGER
JOHN BUYERS
ROBERTH SMITH
ADAM DEAN
RANDELL ALEXANDER
THOMAS BOYD
HUGH ROGERS
JOHN CRAIG
WILLIAM BOYD
BENJ. BOYD
JAMES KENEDY
M. STERLING
SAMUEL ROSS

JOHN RAMSAY
JOHN McKEEN
JAMES WILSONE
ROBERT McKEEN
JOHN BOYD
ANDREW DUNLAP
JAMES RAMSAY
WILLIAM PARK
JOHN BLAIR
JAMES THOMPSON
LAWRENCE McLAUGHLIN
WILL CAMPBELL
JAMES BANKHEAD
ANDREW PATRICK
JAMES McFEE
JAMES TONSON
GEORGE ANTON
JAMES ANTON
GEORGE KAIRY
THOMAS FREELAND
THOMAS HUNTER
DANIEL McKARRELL
H. KENEDAY
JOHN SUENE
ADAM KITKOY
ALEXANDER KIDD
THOMAS LORIE
THOMAS HINES
WILL HALKINS
GEORGE ANTON
JOHN COLBREATH
WILLIAM CAIRD
JOHN GRAY
JOHN WOODMAN
ANDREW WATSON
WILLIAM BLEAIR
JOSEPH BLEAIR
HUGH BLARE
SAMUEL ANTON
JAMES KNOX
ROBERT HENDREY
WILLIAM DUNKEN
DAVID DUNCAN
JOHN MUREE
JAMES GILLMOR
SAMUEL GILLMOR
ALEXANDER COCHRAN
EDWARD McKENE
JOHN MURDOCK
SAMUEL McMUN
HENRY CALVAL
THOS. McLAUGHLIN
ROBERT HOOG
JOHN MILLER

HUGH CALWELL
 WILLIAM BOYD
 JOHN STERLING
 SAMUEL SMITH
 JOHN LAMOND
 ROBERT LAMOND
 ROBERT KNOX
 WILLIAM WILSON
 WM. PATERSON
 JAMES ALEXANDER
 JAMES NESMITH
 DAVID CRAIG
 WEALL MCNEALL
 THOMAS ORR
 WILLIAM CALDWELL
 JAMES MOORE, JR.
 SAM GUNION
 MATTHEW LORD
 ROBERT KNOX
 ALEX. MCGREGORE
 JAMES TROTTER
 ALEXANDER MCNEALL
 ROBERT ROO
 JOSEPH WATSON
 ROBERT MILLER
 JOHN SMEALLY
 JAMES MORIESON

JAMES WALKER
 ROBERT WALKER
 ROBERT WALKER, JR.
 WILLIAM WALKER
 WILLIAM CALWELL
 SAMUEL YOUNG
 ALEXANDRE RICHEY
 JAMES MORIESON
 JOSEPH BEVERLIN
 ROBERT CRAGE
 JOHN THOMPSON
 HUGH TOMSON
 JAMES STILL
 JAMES HOOG
 THOMAS HANSON
 JOHN HANSON
 RICHARD ETONE
 JAMES ETONE
 THOMAS ETONE
 SAMUEL HANSON
 JAMES COCHRAN
 JAMES HIELTON
 THOMAS HARETONE
 JOHN COCKRAN
 WILLIAM COCHRAN
 SAMUEL HONTOR
 JOHN HONTOR

On receiving a favorable report from Mr. Boyd, a large part of the signers of the petition immediately converted their property into money and embarked in five ships for Boston, where the first hundred families of the contingent from Ireland who settled so many towns in Massachusetts and New England, arrived August 4, 1718. A considerable number of these emigrants remained in Boston, where they united with others of their countrymen already resident and organized the first Presbyterian church and society, over which the Rev. John Moorhead was installed pastor. Others located in Andover and adjoining towns. Sixteen families, however, moved westward in a body, but eventually turned their course and settled at and founded Londonderry, New Hampshire. Another portion of the company repaired to Worcester, where they prepared to form a distinct settlement and establish the Presbyterian creed under the ministry of one of the clergymen who had come over with them, but the colony soon after dispersed. Another party went west and settled at Unadilla on the banks of the Susquehanna River in New

York. Some of the families located in Spencer, some in Stow, some in Hopkinton, some crossed over into Connecticut, and several families came to Palmer, then called "The Elbows." The first of these came about 1718 and others followed at different dates, coming and going to other points where settlements were in progress.

A part of the Worcester colony, joined by fresh arrivals from Ireland, settled at Colerain in 1736, and a company of 34 families, partly recent emigrants, purchased a township to the east of Amherst of Col. John Stoddard, January 1, 1739, being the northerly section of what was known as the "Equivelant Lands." This town was called Pelham and was incorporated January 15, 1742.

As will be seen on examination, several of the men whose names are found on the list of addressors to Governor Shute came early to Palmer and other family names from Ireland soon appear among the inhabitants. A few of the Irish families that settled in several of the towns along the line of Northern Massachusetts came with the emigration of 1718, but the majority appear to have come with a later and more direct emigration, from 1723 to 1727.

These settlers came in families, old and young, parents and children, with character, goods, and association, all bound together by race, kindred and creed, determined that their posterity should inherit the land. These Irish emigrants brought with them the potato to America, a vegetable until then unknown to the people, and it was an important article of their annual food supply, as it has since become to all the people.

The line marked by the passage of the Chicopee River through the town of Palmer early bestowed upon that tract the name of "Elbows." On this tract, as early as 1717, settlements were made by a considerable colony of emigrants from the north of Ireland, on grants from the proprietors of Lambstown, now Hardwick, and it is stated that John King made a settlement one year earlier. The settlers were the descendants of a colony from Argyleshire in Scotland and settled in the north of Ireland about 1612. They emigrated to this country in 1718 and were the first Presbyterians in the country. They received no small degree of persecution from the Congregationalists on their arrival. The validity of their title was not admitted

by the General Court until 1732, when the settlers petitioned the Legislature for the right of public worship and permission to occupy the tract of land composed of high hills and valleys in that section.

These Irish settlers founded a Presbyterian church at Palmer as early as 1730, the first clergyman being Rev. M. Kilpatrick, who officiated for only a few months, after which Rev. John Harvey preached about four years, when he was dismissed as the result of a scandal, and was succeeded by Rev. Robert Burns, who was also dismissed after three years' service in consequence of an unhappy controversy between himself and his parishoners.

The town of Palmer was originally a part of Hampshire County and so remained until Hampden County was incorporated February 20, 1812. A considerable slice of the original territory was cut off and included in the present town of Warren when that district was incorporated in 1741, and another slice was set off in the northeast part as the Ware parish in 1742, and was incorporated as the district of Ware, 1761; so that parts of the original plantation known as the "Elbow Tract" lie within the bounds of three counties, Hampshire, Hampden and Worcester.

The records of the General Court of 1761 show that a petition was granted to Isaac and Alx Magoon, sons and heirs to the whole of the estate of Isaac Magoon (deceased) of Ware River Parish, in the County of Hampshire, setting forth that they owned about 400 acres of land in the northerly part of Palmer, which they wished to have annexed to the Ware parish. This petition was granted November 18, 1761.

Isaac Magoon came from Ireland with the colony that settled in Palmer in 1727. The farm allotted to him by the legislative commission was at the southwest corner of the Reed estate. He built a house near where Christopher Boyd has since lived. He left two sons, Alexander (who also left two sons, Isaac and Alex), and Isaac who married Lucretia, daughter of John Downing, and had thirteen children. This family owned about 1,400 acres of the best land in Ware. Several of the descendants of the Magoon family afterwards settled in the Western States, and many of them probably know very little of their Irish ancestry.

The town of Ware was settled about 1733 by a few families of the settlers at Pelham and Palmer, and in 1742, when there were but 33 families in the territory, they petitioned the General Court to be erected into a town, and Ware was incorporated November 25, 1761, Isaac Magoon, J. Cummings and John Reed being the committee whose names appear on the petition. Rev. Henry Carey was invited to attend to the spiritual necessities of the people.

Jacob Cummings was among the first settlers of Ware and was a prominent man in the town for many years. When the town was incorporated in 1762 he was one of its selectmen and town treasurer. He had five sons. A daughter of one of his sons, Abraham, married Thomas McClintock, while all the other sons left large families.

William Brakenridge, who was the most prominent man of the town for thirty years, a member of the first board of selectmen, and the first representative to the Provincial Congress and town clerk for 18 years, came to this country from Ireland in 1727, when four years of age. There is in the family an ancient manuscript music book, with scale and rudiments of music. It contains the family register of births, marriages and deaths. On one page is written, "We departed from Ireland July 16, 1727, and a daughter died on the passage." Of the sons of James Brakenridge who came from Ireland, James, Jr., who lived in Ware and afterwards removed to Bennington, Vermont, represented this country as Minister to England. William settled in Ware in 1746; Francis and George remained in Palmer. William married Agnes Sinclair, who came with her parents and with him in the same vessel from Ireland. They had four sons,— William, James, George and Francis. He gave his children a good education, and their reputation for good sense and sound judgment gave them a leading influence in the town. James married a daughter of William Coney and had four sons, and their descendants still live in the town, among them James Sullivan Brakenridge. William Brakenridge died February 16, 1807, aged 84 years.

Samuel Dunsmore was a native of Ireland and settled early in Ware. His daughter Miriam married James Lamberton and was the mother of Samuel B. Lamberton of Brookfield.

James Lemmon came from Ireland when four years old and settled on the farm afterwards owned by his grandson, Samuel

Lemmon, in the southwest part of the town. His mother was a sister of James Brakenridge, who settled in Palmer.

William Coney came from Ireland and settled in Sharon, and during the Revolution came to Ware to where his son, Capt. Oliver Coney, had preceded him. He owned the farm on which Mrs. George Rich lived. He died December 30, 1830, aged 81 years. His grandson, Thomas A. Coney, is the present family representative.

Jeremiah Anderson was a native of Ireland and came to Ware soon after the precinct was established. He had a family of eleven children. His son William was born August, 1749, and lived near the center of the town. A grandson, Samuel D. Anderson, inherited the Samuel Dunsmore farm.

James Lamberton was one of the original settlers of Palmer. He came from Ireland and had four sons: John, who, like his Uncle John before him, never married; James married a daughter of Samuel Dunsmore, and lived on the farm afterwards occupied by D. McClintock.

In the war for American independence the families of Downing, Brakenridge, Cummings, Dunsmore, Lemmon, Rodgers, Patterson, and all the other Irish patriots of Ware took an active part.

John Fleming, born in Ireland in 1673, came to America and settled in Palmer, 1721.

Robert Farrell came from Ireland in 1720, and settled in Palmer a few years later.

James Lemmon came from Ireland in 1727, and settled in Palmer.

John, son of James Loftis, born in Tipperary, Ireland, 1805, married Mary Dorethey in 1831, came to America and settled in Palmer in 1847.

James and John Moore with their mother came from Ireland. They signed the memorial to Governor Shute with 320 others, for liberties to come and settle. They came to Palmer in 1719. The mother died February 27, 1748, age 87 years.

Alexander McNitt and family came from Ireland in 1720. He was born in 1656 and died February 10, 1746. His wife Sarah died May 10, 1744.

William McMitchell and wife Margaret Smith came from Ireland in 1718, and settled in Palmer.

Joseph and Timothy McElwane came from Ireland in 1727, and settled in Palmer.

Robert Smith, born in Ireland, 1672, came to Palmer in 1728, where he died December 21, 1759.

James Sheares and family came from Antrim, Ireland, in 1720, and settled in Palmer in 1726. He was born in 1678 and died 1745.

Samuel Shaw came from Queenstown, County Cork, in 1720, and to Hampden County in 1736.

Robert and Capt. John Thompson were signers of the memorial to Governor Shute. Robert was born November 6, 1730. John Thompson was born in County Kerry, where he married Miss B. Daily, and came to Palmer in 1849.

Joseph Thompson, son of Robert, born in Killarney, County Kerry, 1830, came to America and Palmer in 1851, and married Mary, daughter of Francis Eager. He died December 23, 1887. Of his children a son Joseph died a few months before him; Marcella married Dr. John Flynn, at present a practicing physician in Pittsfield; and Julia, who resides in Palmer. Several other children died in infancy.

The history of the towns of Western Massachusetts shows that several of them had been set off and named in the first years of the 18th century. They had very few inhabitants previous to the coming of the Irish in considerable numbers about 1718. Several towns laid out and named after that time, like Colerain, Montgomery, Gill and Charlemont, Conway, Monroe, and Huntington were called after places in Ireland from whence the early settlers emigrated. West of the Connecticut River the territory was divided up into towns soon after the settlement of the boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts, which took place in 1713, when the present town of Suffield, formerly in this State, was thrown into Connecticut, and in 1732 the owners of the tract of land in that territory were granted an equivalent tract of six miles square by the Massachusetts Legislature, and this territory is included in the present town of Blandford, one of the first towns almost entirely settled by people from Ireland, who arrived in this country in considerable numbers about that time. The people were Irish Presbyterians who

came from Ireland about the year 1718. Francis Brimley, A. M. Collins, Samuel Knox and Patrick Boies came up from Hartford and purchased land of Christopher Lawton and Francis Wells, to whom the Legislature had conveyed undivided parts of the township.

The first clergyman of the Congregational Church of Blandford was Rev. Mr. McClenathan, an Irishman, who received £135 a year for his services. He was one of the petitioners to Governor Shute. He did not give satisfaction and remained only two years, when he became a chaplain in the army. Rev. James Morton, also an Irishman, was installed as pastor in August, 1747, and preached to the people for twenty years. He retired June 2, 1767, and lived in Blandford until his death, which occurred in October, 1793; age, 80 years.

Many of the representatives of the town to the Legislature for nearly a hundred years after its settlement were native-born Irishmen or the sons of Irishmen, among whom were Reuben Boies, William Knox, Timothy Blair, John Ferguson, Daniel Boies, Patrick Boies, Samuel Knox, Daniel Collins, and David Boies. The following are the names among the early families: McClinton, Reed, Brown, Taggart, Blair, Wells, Montgomery, Stewart, Campbell, Ferguson, Boies, Sennett, Wilson, Gibbs, Knox, Young, Carr, Black, Anderson and Hamilton.

Hon. Patrick Boies, a descendant of the Boies family who settled in Blandford, was graduated at Williams College and studied law with his uncle, John Phelps, at West Granville. He was the first lawyer admitted to the Hampden County bar in 1812, and became one of the most prominent attorneys in Western Massachusetts. He was Representative and State Senator to the General Court, and also served as High Sheriff (one of the first) of Hampden County; and throughout his entire life bore an unblemished reputation. A daughter of Patrick Boies was the organist in St. Mary's Church, Westfield, for several years.

The Hon. Samuel Lathrop was born in West Springfield in 1771, and married Mary McCracken of New Haven, by whom he had ten children—four sons and six daughters.

Augustus Collins was born in Connecticut. He was admitted to the bar in Berkshire County and afterwards settled in Westfield,

where he served as the principal civil magistrate. He was known as an excellent and indefatigable student, giving untiring industry and extreme care to all his business interests.

William Blair was born in Blandford and was a descendant of David Blair, who with his family of twelve children emigrated from Ireland to America about the year 1720, and settled at Worcester, Massachusetts. Matthew, the eldest son of David, moved to Blandford with his brother Robert, the father of William, where they were among the early settlers. William became a lawyer and after his admission to the bar opened an office in Westfield. He was most scrupulous in the discharge of his duties toward his clients and had a fine sense of personal honor.

Hon. Alanson Knox was a grandson of William Knox, one of the Irish pioneers who settled in Blandford about 1737. General Knox, as he was usually called in consequence of his position in the State militia, was born in Blandford in 1785. One of his daughters married Hon. Reuben A. Chapman, Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. General Knox lived in Ohio in his latter years, where he died.

E. B. Hamilton was born in Blandford and studied law with General Knox. He was admitted to the bar in 1815 and commenced his practice in Westfield. His ancestor was one of the Irish pioneers of Blandford.

Hon. James Cooley was a brother of Rev. Timothy M. Cooley. They were of Irish ancestry, and born in Granville. James graduated at Williams College and was admitted to the bar in 1814. He represented his district in the State Senate.

Chester is another of the towns of Hampden County settled a few years after Blandford almost entirely by the Irish. The present town formed one of the ten original townships sold at auction by order of the General Court, January 2, 1762. About that time the first settlers of the place began to arrive, who in all probability were, like the great majority of Irish coming to this country at that time, Presbyterians, although some of them by their names would indicate that they were Catholics, such as John and David Gilmore, Thomas Kennedy, Daniel Fleming, William Moore, Thomas McIntire,

William Kennedy, John McIntire, James Clarke and Andrew Fleming. Other prominent settlers were the Gordons, Hollands, Knoxs, Henrys, Hamiltons, Quiglays, Elders and Bells. This town was incorporated October 31, 1765, when it was called Murrayfield. Among the clergymen who officiated at Chester we find the name of Rev. Andrew McCune.

The first settlers of Granville, which was first called Bedford, were almost all from Ireland. Following the first settler, Samuel Bancroft, came Daniel Cooley, Thomas Spellman, John Root, Peter Gibbons, and Samuel Church. Doctor Holland, in his "History of Western Massachusetts," refers to the longevity of the early settlers of this town as quite remarkable. The ancestor of the Cooleys from Ireland died at the age of 90, of the Spellmans, who died in 1767 at 93, of the Gibbons at 92, of the Churchs at 95 and of the Roots at 103. Hamilton, Goff, Curtiss, Gibbons, Clark, Moore, and Phelan were also early settlers at Granville.

George Cooley, from whom most of the Cooleys of this section were descendants, died of a wound received at the hand of an Indian in 1781. His son was a commander at White Plains, where he took aim at a Dragoon who was rushing towards him, but he missed his aim and the enemy with a broad-sword split his head open, killing him instantly.

The one-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Rev. Timothy M. Cooley in 1795 took place in Granville in August, 1895, at which a large number of the descendants of those early Irish settlers was present, when they most fittingly honored the memory of their ancestors. J. G. Holland says that the facts were communicated to him by Rev. Mr. Cooley in 1854, when he was 83 years of age. He was born in Granville and like many of the Cooleys of Hampden County was descended from old Daniel Cooley from Ireland.

Among the early inhabitants of Rowe, which was settled in 1744, we find the names of Michael Wilson, Henry Gleason, William Taylor, Mathew Barr and Joseph Thomas. They were a portion of the Irish colony to Worcester County, which after a short time scattered to form new settlements.

The first permanent settlement of Shelburne was about 1760 by

several Irish families who had lived for a time in Londonderry, New Hampshire. Among them are the names of Joseph Thompson, Patrick Lawson, Robert Wilson, John Taylor, James Ryder, Daniel Nims and Samuel Hunter. Quite a number of these men were soldiers in the Revolution and also took an important part in Shays' insurrection.

The first settler of the town of Ashfield was Richard Ellis, a native of Dublin, Ireland, who established himself about 1745. He felled the first tree and built a log house in the northwestern portion of the town. He was soon followed by Thomas Phillip, whose sister he married. Phillip built a log house for himself and family almost a half mile north of Mr. Ellis. A family named Smith, who had settled in South Hadley, soon joined them and they were followed by other families from time to time, so that in ten years they numbered about twenty families and over 100 persons. They labored as none but the pioneers of the forest know how to toil to obtain a comfortable support for their families. The town increased years later in population and prosperity and was incorporated in June, 1765, and ten years later they, like thousands of their countrymen, took an active part in the Revolution, when they drew up a preamble and resolutions signed by Ellis, Phillip and 65 others, denouncing England.

Richard Ellis, the first settler of Ashfield, and the ancestor of many of the families of that name in the Connecticut valley, was born in Dublin, Ireland, August 16, 1704, and was 13 years of age when he landed in this country, as stated by one of his descendants, Aaron Smith of Stockton, New York. Tradition has handed down the following account of him: Mr. Ellis was the only son of a widow. A native of Ireland who had become a wealthy planter in Virginia, having no children, made application to a friend in Dublin to send over a youth of promise to be adopted into his family and brought up under his care and patronage. Young Ellis was selected and started for this country. On his embarkation his passage was paid, and an agreement made with the captain of the ship to land him safely in Virginia, but he proved faithless to his trust, brought the youth to Boston and there sold him for his passage money. After

serving out the time thus unjustly exacted from him he left Boston and settled in Easton, where he married Bridget Phillips and removed to Ashfield, then called Huntstown, where he probably made a settlement about the year 1742. Here they lived and raised a family of eight children. Their son John, who was the oldest, lived in Ashfield and had children Reuben, Jane, Hannah and Richard, who intermarried with the Smith, Belding, Phillips, and Hall families.

Middlefield was made up of parts of several towns, and the date of the first settlement within its limits is not positively known, but it was probably about the year 1773, when two families, Taggart and Rhodes, arrived. Among the other families who soon settled there we notice the names of the descendants of several of the signers of the address to Governor Shute, such as William Taggart, Thomas Bolton, John Ford, David Mack, James Nooney, Malachi Loveland, Samuel Taylor and Rev. M. Harrington. David Mack was the first merchant in the town and died full of years and honors at the age of 94. The first gristmill was built by John Ford about the year 1780.

When the General Court settled the conflicting titles in the town of Brimfield on the 18th of June, 1731, by confirming the grants of land to settlers made by a committee chosen for that purpose, among the names of persons to whom 120 acres were allotted are several of those noticed on the petition to Governor Shute, and other Irishmen who came after, such as Nathan Collins, William Wilson, James Thompson, Samuel King, John Wilson, John Danielson, Daniel Killum, David Ingersole, Thomas Ingersole, William Hamilton, Patrick Marshall and Sylvester Thompson. Monson, Wales and Holland were originally included in the territory of Brimfield, and those of the early Irish settlers of Brimfield were part and parcel of the inhabitants of those towns when they were set apart as districts about 1762.

The first settlement of the town of Greenwich was commenced about the year 1732, by families of the names of Powers, Cooley, Gibbs and Rogers, also Hynds and Patterson. This statement of the first settlement is confirmed in an inscription on a tombstone, now standing, which states that Mr. Patterson, who died April 19,

1811, at the age of 79, was the first man born in this town in the year 1732. These settlers were principally from around Brookfield and Palmer and were a part of the colony from Ireland, with accessions to their number coming every month about this time.

The town of Pelham, which was incorporated as a town January 15, 1743, is situated in the northeasterly section of Hampshire County, seven miles from Northampton and twenty miles from Springfield. The territory of Pelham formed a portion of what was originally known as the "Equivelant Lands." It was at first popularly designated "Stoddard's Town," having been sold by the State of Connecticut to Col. John Stoddard and others of Northampton. An Irish colony numbering about 40 families, who had resided for a time at Worcester, conceived the idea of purchasing this territory of Col. John Stoddard with the purpose of establishing a settlement there September 26, 1738. Two representatives of this colony, Robert Peibles and James Thornton, opened negotiations with Colonel Stoddard, which resulted in an agreement entered into on October 20th following, for the purchase of the "territory comprising 29,874 acres, in consideration of the payment of 7,300 pounds to be paid in bills of credit of ye old Tenor," and a deed was given by John Stoddard January 31st, and recorded at Springfield, July 3, 1739, by William Pynchon, Jr., register. The persons named in this deed were Patrick Peibles, Andrew McFarland, Mathew Gray, Robert Lothridge, Robert Barber, William Johnson, William Gray, John McCorkey, James McCorkey, Alexander McCorkey, Alexander Turner, John Simson, James Wood, Adam Johnson, Ephraim Cowen, George Cowen, Samuel Gray, John Gray, Thomas Dick, John Dick, John Alexander, James Alexander, James McAllach, Samuel Thomas, James Taylor, John Ferguson, James Gilmore, Adam Patterson, Thomas Lowdon, John Chandler, John Johnson, Adam Clark, Robert Peibles and James Thornton of Worcester.

In the agreement of the original committee with Col. John Stoddard, of whom the territory was purchased, occurs this passage:

"It is agreed that families of good conversation be settled on the premises, who shall be such as the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ireland or their descendants and none to be admitted but such as bring good and undeniable credentials or certificates of their being persons of good conversation and of the Presbyterian persuasion and confirm to the discipline thereof."

The persons named in the deed above mentioned, with their families, together with a few other families, mostly Irish Presbyterians, became the pioneers and proprietors of the settlement. The records show that the original lots were apportioned out in 61 parcels. Among the early settlers of Pelham are the names of James Breckenridge, John Ainson, John Hunter, James Hood, James Layton, John Savage, John Blair, Patrick McMullen, William Crossett, Thomas Hamilton, David Thomas, James Harkness, James Barry, John Crawford, David Houston, David Cowdan, William Young, Hugh Hollands, John Thompson, Daniel Fales, James McCulloch, James Halbert, Hugh Johnson and James King. The meetings of the proprietors were held in Worcester until 1740, when the first meeting in the new territory was held August 6th at the house of John Ferguson. Among the first officers of the town were Robert Peibles, Alexander McCorkney, John Alexander, Robert Lothridge, John Gray, selectmen; William Gray, clerk, and John Simson, treasurer. The first pastor called to preach the Gospel in Pelham was Rev. Path Johnson of Londonderry.

The Irishmen of Pelham were on the right side in the Revolution. They issued an address to their countrymen in Boston, November 3, 1773, of which the following extract is an illustration: "We are not at present much intimidated with the pompous boasting on the other side of the water or the claim that Great Britain could blow America into atoms." They unanimously voted their acquiescence in, and support of, a declaration of independence fourteen days before the declaration of independence was made at Philadelphia, and throughout the war they furnished from their slender means and resources more than their proportion of men and money for its prosecution. Nearly all the able-bodied men in town served in the army or navy.

At the close of the Revolutionary War the American leaders faced grave responsibilities. The soldiers of the Continental cause were destitute of funds to pay their debts, and the money of the country was largely in the possession of civilians. The patriots who by their valor had freed the colonies from English domination found themselves harrassed with personal obligations, and a conflict was

immediately precipitated between the soldier debtor and the civilian creditor. This was the general condition of affairs, but there were many other complications. A worthless paper currency, a jealousy of military power and an unsettled union of the States, with vague and uncertain ideas of what the new Republic could accomplish, all contributed to torture the body politic and ferment disorder. It has been truly said that if the spirit of 1776 tried men's souls, the condition of the men who bore the brunt of the conflict tried men's body and soul together, as fully one-half of the people owed debts which they were unable to pay. The multiplication of judgments by the courts and the activity of the sheriffs in searching for property to attach for debt, angered and embittered the citizens against the courts of law. Rev. Samuel Ely of Somers, Connecticut, Daniel Shays of Pelham, Luke Day of West Springfield, McKnoll of Northampton and thousands of others in the towns of the Connecticut valley were in this predicament in the year 1785.

The leading spirits in the insurrection known as Shays' Rebellion were Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Elisha Manning, Eli Parsons, Jacob Fox, Daniel Dunham, Percy Hamlin and Ebenezer Crittendon. Daniel Shays was a resident of Pelham and served in the struggle for American independence from that town. He fought at Bunker Hill, at the storming of Stony Point and at the capture of General Burgoyne. On all occasions he performed gallant service, attaining the name of captain for bravery, and carried to his grave honorable scars received in fighting the battles of his country. After the Revolution Captain Shays returned to his home in Pelham, where in time he became the acknowledged leader of the insurrection which was called after him. By his forceful eloquence he aroused the people to the point of enthusiasm and indignation where they were ready to fight for principles and the redress of grievances real and imaginary that should properly be attained by constitutional methods. Not only did Shays have the active coöperation and sympathy of the inhabitants in this movement, but here the entire insurgent force rendezvoused. It is impossible to give a list of the men who served in the rebellion, as the records of the town covering the period from 1784 to 1816 have been lost.

Patrick Shays, the father of Capt. Daniel Shays, was one of the Irish pioneers who settled at Hopkinton, Massachusetts.

Col. John Cummings purchased the territory of Cummington of the government June 2, 1762, for £1800. This town furnished to American literature the poet William Cullen Bryant. He was the son of Dr. Peter Bryant and was born November 3, 1794. As a poet he ranks among the best. His productions are marked by great simplicity and clearness of expression, pure morality, a general and gentle philosophy, and a well-tempered imagination, combined with a superior comprehension. Both names, Cullen and Bryant or Bryan, are distinctively of Irish origin, but are often called English, like many of the earlier Irish immigrants.

Among the Revolutionary soldiers from Cummington, the last survivor was Daniel Timothy, born January 7, 1755. He was in the service during the entire war and lived to be over 100 years old. He was known by the name of "Teague," which is Irish for Timothy, and this is the name given him in his pension certificate.

Felt's history states that the town of Greenwich was settled about the year 1732 by an Irish colony, and among the names of the first families are Powers, Hynds, Patterson, Cooley, Rogers, and Gibbs. Capt. N. Powers was a descendant of the Powers from Ireland, as was also Mr. Patterson who died April 19, 1811, at the age of 79 years. In the Revolutionary struggle the men were patriotic and furnished their full quota of men and munitions for the war.

The settlement of Hadley was commenced in 1659 by a company of persons residing in Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, and is therefore one of the oldest towns of the Connecticut valley, and has an interesting history. The original territory of Hadley included the present town of Hadley, Hatfield, Amherst, Granby, South Hadley and a part of Whately. A portion of the town was called "Patrick's Swamp," possibly after some Irishman who resided there. Among the early settlers we find the families of Thomas Coleman and John White.

Among the early settlers of Middlefield was Col. David Mack, who defined the boundaries of the town. It was incorporated March 12, 1783. John Ford built the first gristmill about the year 1780.

Here also settled the families of Malachi Loveland, J. Taggart, and M. Rhodes.

The year after Williamsburg was set off from Hatfield and incorporated a town, April 24, 1771, the tax lists show a few Irish names, such as Joseph Carey, Thomas Finton, George Dunn, James Ludden, Edward Curtis, William Finton, and Joseph Ludden.

The settlement of Worthington was so rapid that from the time the territory was sold at auction, June 2, 1762, the settlers flowed in and became so numerous that the town was incorporated in 1768. Among the first settlers are such names as John Kelley, Thomas Kinne, James Kelley, Jeremiah Kinne, Mathew Finton, and N. Collins. The inhabitants of this, like many other towns, were composed of a mixed population from England, Ireland, and a few from Scotland and France. Dr. Moses Morse was an Englishman, and like many of his countrymen during the Revolutionary War, he was a "strong-minded, cross-grained Torey," and for that reason he was censured by the town January 14, 1777. This town furnished 71 minutemen who marched to Cambridge upon the alarm from Lexington, and through the entire war Worthington supplied men and money for the support of the colonial cause.

The first settlement of Bernardston commenced about the year 1738, and it was here, on May 18, 1676, during the Indian troubles, occurred what is known as the "Falls Fight," when Captain Turner with only a comparatively small body of men attacked and destroyed hundreds of Indians at what has been called in honor of the commander of the forces, Captain Turner, who lost his life during the engagement,—Turners Falls. Major John Burke built one of the four first houses erected in the town, and among the first settlers are the names of Griffin, Lee, King, Gleason, Baker and Bradshaw. Major Burke was clerk of the town for 22 years and became the first Representative in 1764.

Among the early settlers of Brimfield, when the General Court settled the conflicting titles on the 18th of June, 1731, which had been in dispute and to whom grants of 120 acres were made, we find such names as Michael Towsley, Nathan Collins, James Thompson, John Wilson, John Danielson, Daniel Killum, William Hamilton, Patrick Marshall.

In 1760 Monson was set apart as a district, and the same was done to Holland and Wales two years later. Capt. Joseph Thompson, Col. Jonathan Thompson and Lieutenant Thompson fought in the Revolutionary War. Monson made grants of money and provisions for the army, and offered bounties of £30 to those who would enlist in the army. Clothing for the soldiers was made and sent to Boston and Philadelphia. By unanimous vote of the town the Declaration of Independence was recorded on the records and almost all the able-bodied men enlisted in the army, some serving for brief periods and others for the entire war.

At the time of the settlement of Northampton it formed with Springfield the whole of Western Massachusetts as far as civilized life was concerned, and the history of Northampton is fully as important as Springfield and mostly along the same lines for the first 200 years of its existence, and like Springfield offered very few inducements for the Irish to settle within its borders. If a few happened to locate there they were given a cold, Puritanic reception of a proscriptive character. The few Irishmen who came were tolerated, however, by the inhabitants, who permitted them to remain in the town on certain conditions. They were usually designated by their national origin, as "Cornelius, the Irishman," "Smith, the Irishman," or by the cognomen of "Paddy." This custom or habit was quite universal among the more ignorant of the inhabitants of the country towns throughout New England up to the time of the Civil War, when a wonderful change was effected and the jealousy bred of difference in race and religion gradually gave place to a more liberal spirit.

"Northampton, September 17, 1663. At a legal Town Meeting there was then granted to Cornelius, the Irishman, three acres of land upon condition that he build upon it and make improvement of it within one year, yet not so as to make him capable of acting in any Town affairs, no more than he had before it was granted to him."

Among the men who labored to remove the prejudice existing towards his countrymen was Rev. Dr. Joseph Pinney, a native of Ireland, who was born in 1790, educated in Dublin, and came to this country in 1819. He was installed a clergyman at Northampton

June 5, 1835, and was succeeded by Rev. John Sullivan Dwight in 1840, having been elected president of Hamilton College in New York, where he remained until his death in 1860.

Edward E. Dennison, M.D., who was born at "Coks-heath," Donegal County, Ireland, July 2, 1803, and received his education in Dublin, in 1833, came to this country and settled at Northampton where he practiced his profession in partnership with Dr. Benjamin Barrett and conducted an establishment for the treatment of chronic invalidism.

A. W. Thompson, A.M., M.D., a nephew of Dr. Daniel Thompson, was born in Pelham May 22, 1834. He was the son of P. P. Thompson who died in Pelham in 1838. Doctor Thompson graduated from Harvard in 1854 as salutatorian of his class.

Dr. Daniel Thompson was another popular and successful physician of Northampton for many years. He was born at Pelham January 14, 1800, of Irish ancestry. He was loved by his patients because he never made the fee for his services the inspiring motive in the exercise of his profession, but rather the wish to benefit humanity.

Capt. David Hamilton of Blandford was born in Ireland July 11, 1742, and his wife Mary Knox was born February 17, 1752. He emigrated to this country prior to the Revolutionary War, and in that struggle for independence between the colonies and England took an active part, being captain of a company in the Continental army. After the war he purchased a farm in Blandford, on which his 13 children were born and reared, and hundreds of his descendants have been active forces in the development and prosperity of the community.

Muster roll of the minutemen from Blandford and Chester under Capt. John Ferguson in Col. Timothy Danielson's regiment, April 20, 1775: First Lieutenant, David Hamilton; second Lieutenant, Silas Noble; Sergeants, James Wiatt and James Stewart; privates, Moses Ker, George Black, Timothy Blair, Joseph Blair, Ashable Black, John Crock, Cornelius Cochran, Solomon Ferguson, Samuel Hamilton, Oliver Knox, John Knox, James Knox, David Kennedy, John Kennedy, William Mitchell, Alex Morgan, John Provin, Mathew Provin, J. Stewart, Spence Stewart, John Savage, Thomas Smith, William More, John Wheeler, David Blair, Jonathan Henry, John

Lucare, Thomas Elder, Reuben Boise, Robert Blair, Joel Boise, John Black and John McIntire. From Conway—James Gilmore, J. Harrington, Robert Hamilton. From Granville—Peter Gibbons and Daniel Cooley. From Greenwich—Sergeants, John McCarn, John McWhorter, Thomas McMiller; privates, Timothy Hinds, N. Powers, Thomas McCluer, Thomas Montgomery, Solomon Hinds, Thomas Thompson, John Thompson, Mathew Clark, John Donnelly, James McCluer, William Welsh from Westfield, and Patrick Nugent from West Springfield.

From a search of the official records we find 234 distinctively Irish names in the 2,000 men engaged on the patriot side of the battle of Bunker Hill, many of whom came from Connecticut valley towns.

The earliest permanent settlers upon the tract now occupied by the town of Colerain were the Irish colony from Ulster Province. They came over from Ireland as early as 1718 by inducements held out to them by Governor Shute of Massachusetts. They located upon a tract of land near the line of the present town of Shelburne. Several of those families who had settled the towns of Londonderry and Peterboro, New Hampshire, afterwards came to Colerain, among whom were the McCollisters, McGrews, McGowans, or Smiths, McClellens, McDonalds, McCrillisons, McCullughs, McDonegals, McLanthsams, Clarks, Willsons, Morrisons, Wallaces, Thompsons and Stewarts, while soon after their arrival came another contingent from Ireland, including the families of James Barry, David McGee, and Joseph McGowen. In 1742 the people called the name of the settlement Colerain in honor of their old home in Ireland, and the town was incorporated with this name June 30, 1761. Colerain in old Hampshire County, now Franklin, was called after Coleraine in Londonderry County, Ireland. This was the town in which William McKinley of Dervock who, under the leadership of Gen. Henry J. McCracken, commanding the Ulster United Irishmen in 1798, was shot for trying to establish a republic in Ireland, 100 years before a descendant of his family was President of this great republic of the United States.

The first inhabitants of Colerain were mostly of these men who had immigrated from Ireland in 1718, although many of them did

not leave Ireland until about the time of the settlement of the town in 1736. Some came from Londonderry, New Hampshire, and more from Stow, Pelham, Woburn, and Roxbury, where they had previously settled before coming to Colerain. Holland says, "They were a robust set of men; six foot or more in height, with frames of corresponding size; possessing constitutions capable of great endurance and fitted for every emergency." There seems to have been one exception in the person of John Newman, who was small in stature but who possessed great personal courage. It was said of him that he would not turn out for any wild animal that crossed his path. At one time, in passing over one of the high hills, he saw a catamount in a tree, and having no gun he armed himself with a good cudgel, climbed the tree, succeeded in killing the catamount, took it on his back and carried it to the house of Lieutenant Pennell. The first Irish-American child born in the town was a daughter called Martha, to Hugh and Martha Morrison. She was born on the 20th of June, 1740. The first male child was a son to John and Sarah Pennell, on March 21, 1741. The first warrant of a town meeting was issued by Thomas Wall, on petition of Andrew Smith, James Barry, John Clark, John Pennell or Parnell, Thomas Cockran, William Clark, Hugh Clark, Matthew Clark, Samuel Clark, John Henderson, Alexander Herroun or Ahearn, and Alexander Clark. Capt. John Morrison, John Henry and Joseph McGowan were active spirits during the Indian wars. At a meeting of those early Irish settlers of Colerain, held August 21, 1772, a committee was appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions, and in answer to a communication from Boston they sent the following reply:

"Although we are an infant settlement we look upon our liberties as dear to us as if we were the oldest in the province and do with the most sincere regard acknowledge the vigilance and care displayed by the town of Boston respecting public right and liberties, and would inform you that this town will heartily consort with you in all salutary constitutions and proper measures for the relief of those intolerable grievances which threaten us with total destruction. We would ever esteem ourselves obliged to the town of Boston, the capitol of the province; may she remain in perpetual prosperity; may wisdom direct her in all her consultations; may her spirited prudence render her a terror to the enemies of our constitution and may every town and every colony of America be awakened to a sense of danger and unite in the glorious cause of liberty; may this land be freed from cruel and designing men that want to bring

slavery on a loyal and dutiful people, and may righteousness be exalted that God Almighty may be our God as he was the God of our forefathers; and may we be persuaded with the virtue, religion and public spirit which warned and animated our ancestors. We conclude with expressing our gratitude to all that have been instrumental in bringing to light things that have been hid and hope by uniting that we may stand victorious."

Most all of the able-bodied men were more or less of the time in the war of the Revolution for the cause of American liberty. A company of artificers raised in Colerain, with Capt. John Bolton, was stationed at West Point. Captain Bolton was the son of Irish parents who were possessed of valuable property, of which they disposed to enable their son to maintain his men and pay them their money for service under his command at West Point.

Captain McClellan, with his company of men from Colerain, fought at the battle of Stillwater, after which they surrendered to a company of artificers sent by General Burgoyne, all of whom were killed or taken prisoners, the rest having joined the American army and the Colerain company.

Col. William Stevens was the son of an Irishman and took an active part in the Revolution. Previous to the announcement of war he lived in Boston where he afterwards watched the British officers instructing a company of men in the art of firing heavy ordinance. Young Stevens entered the service at the commencement of hostilities and was connected with the artillery, where he proved to be one of the best shots with heavy ordinance in the American army. Colonel Stevens continued in the army until the close of the war, when he returned to Colerain where he engaged in the mercantile business.

May 10, 1746, a band of Indians, returning from an unsuccessful attack upon Major Burke's fort at Bernardston, passed through Colerain and killed Mathew Clark. Many of the inhabitants of Colerain were forced to abandon the settlement during the period of Indian warfare for more secure quarters, but returned promptly upon termination of hostilities.

During the French and Indian War there were a number of soldiers of Colerain who belonged to a company known as "Roger's Rangers." They were at the battle of Quebec when General Wolfe

was killed. Rev. Alexander McGowel, the first clergyman of Colerain, was born in Ireland and educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in July, 1753, and was ordained September 28, 1753. He remained pastor until 1761.

The territory of Charlemont forms one of the townships given by the General Court to Boston June 27, 1735. The other plantations granted at the same time were Colerain and Pittsfield. Charlemont was incorporated June 21, 1765, including at first the present town of Heath and a part of the town of Buckland. Of the first settlers the Rice and Taylor families were the most prominent and important among the inhabitants.

One of the most distinguished soldiers of the Revolutionary War, from Western Massachusetts, was Col. Hugh Maxwell, who lived in that part of Charlemont now within the bounds of Heath. Colonel Maxwell was born in Ireland April 27, 1733. He was a devoted patriot and rendered his country valuable service in the French and Revolutionary Wars. He was in the battle near Lake George and at the capture of Fort William Henry. It was chiefly owing to his influence that there was not a Tory in his town. On the Lexington alarm he marched as lieutenant with a company of minutemen to Cambridge. He was in the battle of Bunker Hill and received a ball through his right shoulder, and although he never entirely recovered from his dangerous wound he served throughout the war, fighting at Trenton, Princeton and Saratoga. He was also with the suffering army at Morristown and endured the horrors of Valley Forge. Colonel Maxwell enjoyed the friendship of General Washington and other distinguished patriots of the Revolutionary struggle. After the war Colonel Maxwell was chosen to attend the General Court at Boston, where he obtained an act granting a division of the town. This new town was incorporated February 14, 1785, and named Heath in honor of Gen. William Heath of Roxbury, who was an old friend and fellow soldier of Colonel Maxwell's. The first meeting was held in March, 1785, with Colonel Maxwell as moderator, and he was chosen first selectman of the town.

Colonel Maxwell married Bridget Monroe of Lexington and they lived at first in a small house, having only two rooms. His wisdom

and enterprise made him a prominent man among his townsmen, who often frequented his home to discuss the startling conditions of the country from time to time. Of their seven children, Hannah married Calvin Rice of Charlemont; Lilly married Alfred Jones of Buckland; Dorcas married Samuel Kirkland; Hugh married Olive Newhall of Conway and lived on the homestead which was afterwards occupied by his son William Monroe Maxwell; and Cloe, who married Roger Leavitt, the father of Roger H. Leavitt of Heath, who was a grandson of Col. Hugh Maxwell. The descendants of Col. Hugh Maxwell have been postmasters and merchants, physicians, lawyers and men of affairs in the hill towns of Franklin County. The land for the first cemetery was donated to the town in 1791 by Colonel Maxwell. At the age of 66 years Colonel Maxwell started on a trip to visit the land of his birth and was lost at sea during the voyage.

Benjamin Maxwell, a brother of Colonel Maxwell, also did service in the French and Indian Wars, and was a lieutenant in a company of minutemen in the Revolution. He lived in Heath in the homestead occupied by his daughter Mary. His sons were Winslow, Benjamin and Patrick. The latter afterwards lived on the place occupied by A. P. Maxwell of Charlemont. The Maxwells, Hamiltons, Gleasons, Thompsons, Leavitts and McGees have been prominent in all the affairs of the town and county for many years.

Among the descendants of those Irish pioneers who achieved distinction were Dr. James Thompson and Dr. Daniel Thompson of Northampton, Doctor Harkness, one of the pioneer railroad men of California, Nathaniel Gray, one of the wealthiest citizens of Sacramento, California, and Judge F. Conkey of Amherst, Judge of Probate of Hampshire County.

William Crossett with two other members of his family came from Ireland and settled in Pelham in the year 1750. The Crossett family produced men of influence and worth in the affairs of the town and county.

John Gray was one of the original proprietors of Pelham, and one of his descendants, Daniel Gray, was an early settler of Prescott.

The town of Prescott was settled about 1740, mostly by people from Ireland. Among the first families to arrive in Prescott were the McMullens (now Mellens) McConkeys (now Conkeys), Crossetts, Grays, Berrys and Pierces. The McMullens claim the date of their settlement at about 1740. John Mellen lived in what is known as "Mellen Hollow." There were four brothers of the McConkeys, John, William, Thomas and Alexander. John lived on Prescott Hill and William in a house near the "East Cemetery." This family is still represented in the town. The Berry family first settled in Deerfield, but on account of the Indian troubles there, they were forced to leave, when they moved to Rutland, Massachusetts, and finally settled in Prescott in 1755. The ancestor of the Berrys was a cloth weaver and farmer. He left four sons and four daughters. James and Alexander remained in Prescott; the others went west. Alexander had four sons and occupied the old homestead. James married and took up his residence on the Gilbert place. John, the eldest son of Alexander, succeeded his father on the Berry place and died there at the age of 84 years, leaving two children, John and Betsey. John Lamless settled about 1790. Among the other early settlers were David Hunt, Thomas Vaughn, James Shaw, Amos Thomas, Jacob Sampson, and these were followed by the Cooleys, Peibles, Hinds, Scotts, Whites, Haskins, and Gibbs. William Conkey kept the first tavern in the town and the building is still standing. In this tavern Daniel Shays first mustered his recruits for the insurrection of 1785. This old hostelry was the scene of many convivial gatherings during the Revolutionary War. With its spacious rooms it was well adapted to accommodate large parties. The inhabitants of Prescott organized a Congregational church in 1786 and the articles of faith were signed by Patrick McMullen, Daniel Gray, John Lindsey, John Hamilton, William Berry, James McMullen, Moses Gray, Alexander Berry, John McMullen, Jeremiah Gray, James Lindsey, Israel Crossett, William Lindsey, Isaac Baker, Aaron Gray, William Conkey, Samuel Sloan and their respective families.

Among the first settlers of Montague we find the names of Samuel Taylor, Samuel Harvey, John Clary, Thomas Casey, and Patrick Clark.

The town of Chesterfield was first occupied about 1760 to 1765, by Simon Higgins, George Buck, Pierce Cowing, Charles Kid, Robert Hamilton, Benjamin Kid, Con. Bryan, Thomas Pierce, John Holbard, Jerry Spaulding, William White and David Stearns. They were mostly Irishmen from Pelham and elsewhere. They named one of the principal streets of the town Ireland street. This street was accepted March 17, 1763, and is the only street in the town which has remained unaltered. The people of Chesterfield were patriots in the Revolution and voted in 1775 to purchase 400 pounds of powder, 400 pounds of lead, and 1,200 flints to supply the 47 minutemen who marched to Cambridge upon the Lexington alarm April 19, 1775.

The territory known as Western Massachusetts was created into the County of Hampshire on March 17, 1662, with very indefinite boundaries. These boundaries were not disturbed until many years after, when Worcester County was formed, and still later when the County of Berkshire was set off from the western part of the old County of Hampshire to the line of the State of New York, at that time an uncertain limit. In May, 1761, after the large immigration from Ireland to Western Massachusetts, the settlement of districts and the organization of towns by them made it necessary to establish limits of townships and counties. Up to their coming in the year 1718 very little of the territory of Western Massachusetts was occupied except in the immediate vicinity of the Connecticut River, as far north as Deerfield, although grants throughout the entire territory had been made individuals. Of the territory comprising the original County of Hampshire, from which the counties of Hampden and Franklin have been set off, the Irish settled a large portion of the territory from which the early organized towns were formed, such as Palmer, Chester and Blandford; Pelham, Colerain, Charlemont, Sunderland and many of the districts afterwards set off and organized into townships, such as Granville, Brimfield, Southwick, Russell, Montgomery, Goshen, Conway, Ware, Amherst, Orange, Gill, Huntington, Rowe, Greenwich, Worthington, and Middlefield. The history of the towns of Berkshire County shows that the towns were mostly all organized a generation or two after the coming of

the Irish who settled the original territory from 1718 to 1740, and although the names on the town records show that many of them were settled by the sons and grandsons of the settlers from Ireland, we can only guess at their origin by their Irish names, such as the Plunketts of Pittsfield and Adams, Patrick Murphy and Michael Sweet of Savoy, with Patrick Tyrell, Whalen or Phelan, Casey, Kerwin, Kneil or Neil, Hale or McHale, Bryan and Bryant, in several towns of the county. There was no standard of orthography in those days as far as the names of persons or places were concerned; each person spelling and pronouncing according to his own peculiar phonetic notions, and the variations in the spelling of a name was of no account whatever, even in the same family; as for instance, the name of Haley, Heely, Helie, Elye and Ely were spelled different by five brothers according to their own notions, regardless of the family relations.

For more than a hundred years the descendants of the early settlers of this valley have been spreading out far beyond the borders of New England, into the ever-retreating west, to people, with thousands of their kit and kin from Ireland and to develop the fertile fields, and reap the harvests of prosperity, of cheerful endurance, daring enterprise and patient perseverance. Their love of liberty, their devotion to religion, their respect for law and order, chastened by sacrifice and suffering, made them the ideal citizens to found and develop States and maintain the principles of the institutions established by the fathers of the Republic. Of all the people who found homes in this land of freedom, no people has figured so conspicuously in the establishment of the government, no people has done so much to save the institutions of the country when they were in danger, no people in the last century has done more for freedom of thought, work and action than the children of Irish immigrants.

APRIL 29, 1902. Meeting of the Society. A paper on *The Early Dentists of Hampden County* was read by ANDREW J. FLANAGAN, D. D. S.

The Early Dentists of Hampden County

THE history of dentistry in Western Massachusetts in general, and particularly in what is now Hampden County, dates back in authentic record to about 1825. It may be well to state in the beginning that the honest records of early practitioners of dentistry in the United States cannot be traced back earlier than 1774. About 1800 the larger cities had a few practitioners performing the then limited operations of dentistry, and as they took apprentices and graduated the same, the smaller places in the various communities began to have visits from the itinerant or traveling practitioners. Dentistry in those early days consisted mainly in the extracting of teeth and the insertion of artificial ones, made of the tusks of the elephant or hippopotamus on a silver or gold base. The preservation of the natural teeth had little attention, and the limited operations in filling consisted of either tin or soft gold foils. Extracting was by the use of the so-called turnkey, the forceps not being brought forth until the earlier thirties. The teeth were all hand carved and naturally limited as to color and durability. The practice was decidedly on the line of a trade and not of a profession. In the forties the first college was launched in the city of Baltimore, and today we have in the United States alone nearly sixty acceptable and reputable colleges, teaching dentistry on the broad and advanced lines of a learned profession. The earlier days found the men taking students with a guarantee not to divulge to others any of the secrets taught them; the present finds secrecy past, and the ideas, inventions and operations of true worth, free to all for use in the amelioration of human ills. Then truly may we say that the higher and nobler history dates from the birth of the first college. Dentistry was quite on a line with medicine as regards student pupilage and trade secrets, for the practitioner of medicine generally parted with his knowledge for considerations

of a money nature—and the guarantee of secrecy; however, these methods were the customs of the times—and custom is the unwritten law—and from the standpoint of the dominating spirit of the times quite in keeping with the general world. What is today may not be tomorrow, and the accepted of the past is not that of the present. The present finds dentistry keeping pace with the world's advancement.

We owe much to those earlier pioneers, who "built better than they knew," and especially to those advanced practitioners and thinkers who started the early dental colleges after being denied admission to the medical schools. The very adversity encountered was the means of building the superstructure existing today; the school wherein was brought forth the standard of the world—American dentistry. It is well for the public to recognize that he of the present who keeps methods to himself, who claims superiority over his fellows, and labors not for humanity and the profession, has no part in what is accepted as the standard of the present. Modern dentistry emanated from ethical men, down through the gamut of acceptable colleges, true dental societies and advanced dental journalism. The unethical, the charlatan, and the uncharitable make a trade of what should be a profession. All honor to those practitioners who labor diligently in whatever capacity for the advancement along the true lines of our "Esprit de Corps."

The first dentist who practiced the art in Hampden County was probably an itinerant named Doctor Appleton, who advertised in January, 1825, "as attending to the cleaning and preserving of the teeth," and as having tooth powder for sale. At this time he was stopping in Springfield. A thorough perusal of the early newspapers fails to state where he came from, whether he had medical knowledge also, or from whom he obtained his dental instruction. In August, 1826, a Doctor Darrah was in Springfield and advertised as operating in the cleaning, filling and extracting of teeth; also inserting artificial teeth, claiming an experience of 16 years, and was recommended by Dr. J. V. C. Smith of Boston. Search has revealed the fact that Doctor Smith was a practitioner of dentistry in connection with the practice of medicine. When Ambrose Lawrence, M.D., began the

practice of dentistry in the then young city of Lowell, October 1, 1839, he found a Robert Darrah practicing dentistry there. Undoubtedly this Doctor Darrah was the same who formerly visited Springfield.

Before 1830 Dr. Charles Stratton had a circuit of towns northeast of Springfield, and finally located permanently at Amherst about 1830. He was the first dentist to locate in Amherst. He was uncle to Dr. Chester Stratton, one of the founders of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society.

Dr. C. T. Stockwell of this city has heard from old residents of a Doctor Liscomb of Ware, who had a circuit in the twenties in and near Springfield. The newspapers of that time fail to authenticate this.

According to a Doctor Booth who wrote a series of historical sketches for the *New England Homestead* in 1868, Jacob Perkins, Jr., commenced the practice of dentistry in Springfield about 1830. The *New England Homestead* was printed by Henry Burt in Springfield and was the predecessor of our present *Springfield Homestead*. The following is from an article by Doctor Booth:

"Jacob Perkins, Jr., got some insight into the business from a Dr. Partridge and afterward opened an office in his father's house, then standing on the present site of Olivet Church, about 1830, or soon afterwards. He was an excellent mechanic, making all his tools, and the only practitioner of the art at the time between Hartford and Northampton. He ever remained one of the best operative dentists during his residence here. His brother, Cyrus Perkins, opened an office in 1835. In those early days pivot teeth were much used in the making of plates, such work being only prosecuted under the greatest disadvantages. Plates were beat or bent up by a tedious process, the now common way of swedging—both quick and easy—being a later invention. Artificial teeth were then carved from the tooth of the hippopotamus on account of its hardness, and even a set of ten teeth in one block was carved from the single specimen. But they decayed worse than the natural human teeth."

The earliest advertisement of Doctor Perkins I have been able to find is taken from the *Springfield Gazette* of February 6, 1833. It is so interesting I have copied it.

"Dr. Perkins, Surgeon Dentist, respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen of Springfield and vicinity, that he remains in readiness at his office in State St., opposite United States Armory, to attend to those in want of his professional services. He inserts teeth with ease, and with as little pain as the circumstances of the case may permit. Siliceous metallic, or incorruptible teeth set, and other artificial teeth set

in a manner not inferior to any in the United States. Gangrene of the teeth removed, and the decayed teeth rendered artificially sound by stopping them with gold, which will prevent further decay. Teeth cleaned in the best manner of Salivary Calculus (tartar), hence removing a bad breath. Particular attention paid to changing of children's and irregularities prevented. Teeth extracted with perfect safety and as little pain as the nature of the case will allow."

Doctor Perkins, before taking up dentistry, worked as a machinist in the United States Armory in Springfield. He began his dental experience by extracting teeth for his fellow workmen, and becoming quite expert at this part of the profession he left the Armory and branched out as a dentist. In a short time he was able to do very creditable work in making plates and filling teeth and was largely patronized by the best people of Springfield and vicinity. He continued practice here for many years, but was finally obliged to leave the city to escape arrest. He returned to the city after some years and died not many years ago in the almshouse.

In 1828 Doctor Perkins achieved notoriety by being arrested with a Dr. William L. Loring and George Ball on charge of body-snatching. The body was taken from the old cemetery which then was at the foot of our present Elm street. It seems the body was for the use of the students of the Berkshire Medical College at Pittsfield. Perkins was fined \$50 for his part in the escapade. After leaving Armory Hill the Doctor's next office was for many years over what is now Clough's restaurant on Main street, and from there he moved to a small building which stood on the front lawn of a house located at what is now the southeast corner of Chestnut and Linden streets. While located at this place occurred that which caused him to leave the city.

Cyrus Perkins, a brother of Jacob, studied dentistry with the latter, and for a few years was associated with him in practice. We can find many of his advertisements in the papers from 1844 to 1855. His method of announcing his services was decidedly in the manner of the fakir of later years. One of his advertisements, which would vie with that of the modern "Dental Company," is here given:

"Teeth! Teeth! May 10, 1844. The subscriber has just received, direct from the manufacturer, some of the most beautiful incorruptible mineral teeth, which will be inserted in all the various modes at the lowest rates, viz. Best pivot teeth inserted

on roots of the natural teeth in the best manner and warranted to give good satisfaction at \$2.00 and \$2.50. Best plate teeth, inserted on gold plate, in the best manner, and with or without colored gums, \$3.00, \$3.50. Sets of upper teeth on atmospheric principle with or without imitation gums, warranted to answer most of the purposes of articulation and mastication, from \$35.00 to \$40.00.

References from people who have used the atmospheric teeth of the subscriber's make, from 1 to 5 years with good satisfaction, can be seen at his office. All operations done at lowest rates and in the best manner. C. Perkins' office, over J. Kendall's Boot and Shoe Store, opposite Exchange Temperance Hotel, Main St."

His office was later moved to the corner of Sanford and Main streets, over what is now Brewer's drug store, where he remained in practice until about 1882. Cyrus Perkins was never regarded as the equal of Jacob in professional ability.

Silas Bliss, who formerly was associated with Doctor Westcott of Syracuse, New York, a dentist of great repute, came to Springfield in 1840. Before coming here he had an itinerant practice in New York State and traveled principally by canal. Doctor Bliss also had an office at Wilbraham and alternated between the two places. He rarely used gold in filling teeth, it is said, preferring tin. His office in Springfield was at the corner of Fort and Main streets.

Dr. J. M. Riggs, of "Riggs disease" fame, began practice at Chicopee Falls—then a part of Springfield—in 1840. He then went, or rather returned, to Hartford, Connecticut, where he died November 11, 1885. He was at one time High School master at Hartford.

Dr. George H. White, who studied with Doctor Gunning of New York City, came to Springfield in 1842. He had practiced in New York before coming to this city, having an office on Chambers street. After remaining here for thirteen years he returned to New York (1855) and died in Florida, August 13, 1879. Doctor White had his office and residence in Fountain Row—directly opposite our present Court Square and about where the Flint & Brickett building now stands. He was an expert porcelain worker, and while here taught many practitioners of New England the art; in fact, he had what might be termed a school of porcelain art. According to an advertisement in the local papers of 1848 we find him using chloroform for the painless extraction of teeth. We also find Doctor White giving references from prominent people as to his ability as a dentist.

This was a practice equally common among our physicians of that time. Cleanliness in those days was not considered to be essential. The moral sense of cleanliness, as applied to dentistry at least, remained to be evolved later; and it is a reported fact worthy of record that Doctors White and Searle were the first to introduce the practice, hereabout, of washing their hands as they went from one patient to another.

Dr. N. E. Ames came to Springfield to live in 1839, and died only a few years ago while located on upper State street, opposite Benton Park. He studied with James Weed, M.D., of Hartford, Connecticut, who also practiced dentistry. Before he opened an office in Springfield, he for 20 years regularly visited a circuit of towns to the northeast of the city, beginning at Ware. In 1859 he established a permanent office in Springfield. He was born at Barre, Massachusetts, October 23, 1814. He was at one time a printer with G. & C. Merriam, the famous publishers at Springfield. After leaving the Merriams he printed a paper for a short time in New Haven, Connecticut. In his earlier years the Doctor was a great lover of horses, and during the time of his circuit practice had the reputation of owning the fastest horses on the road. For many years he was a firm believer and worker for total abstinence principles. He was a great advocate and user of chloroform as an anæsthetic.

Dr. Flavius Searle came to Springfield in 1839. He was born in Southampton, Massachusetts, April 4, 1814. His early studies were with reference to entering the ministry. He taught school at intervals and finally entered Amherst College, but, owing to poor health, did not graduate. He subsequently entered Marietta College, but his health did not permit him to continue. Later he took up the study of medicine, but early began to make a specialty of dentistry under the tutorship of Doctor Walker of Northampton, Massachusetts, who was both physician and dentist. Graduating at the office of Doctor Walker, he opened an office at Springfield in 1839, but frequently made excursions into adjoining towns for a time as an itinerant. An advertisement in the Springfield directory of 1851 announces him as a physician and dentist. No man who has practiced dentistry in this part of the State was more beloved,

respected and honored than Doctor Searle. He was an honor to the growing profession, and did much to advance it in the estimation of the community. He came to be known as the "father" of dentistry in this region, not only because of his conservatively progressive influence, but because he was the first to open his office and laboratory, as well as his well-stored mind and heart, to his fellow practitioners. These, and his friendly aid and assistance, were always open to the call of all competitors. All of this was fully illustrated by a remarkable tribute paid to him, in October, 1887, by the Connecticut Valley Dental Society, of which he was the principal founder, and its first president, in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of his professional life. This was the "judgment day" for Doctor Searle, and his professional associates, from all over the land, constituted the court of justice, either by personal presence or personal letters. And this is not all: the Honorable Mayor of the city, representatives of medical, legal, clerical and other professions came to do him honor; in fact he was overwhelmed with expressions of esteem, love and congratulation. They all poured upon his consecrated head every possible expression of regard and love, and made his soul glow with unutterable joy and gratitude. On the 10th of February, 1889—17 months from this happy event—he died, and passed to that great reward in store for all those who serve so well their kind. On the occasion of his funeral a special meeting of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society was called, and a large number responded, and in a body followed his remains to the grave, honored alike by the profession and the citizens of Springfield. On this occasion a notable memorial address was given by Mr. George S. Merriam, a neighbor and one of the foremost citizens of the city.

Doctor Searle was the inventor of various methods and appliances, but gave everything he devised as contributions to the advancement of his profession. For several years he made all his own instruments, and in 1858, being in need of an operating chair, he made one for himself. Of this chair he said, "I used to go to church and try to be good, but that chair would go with me, and be working its parts together before the whole congregation." In this chair his last patient sat. To say that Doctor Searle was, until the last, a

thorough student, would be to state that which follows "as a matter of course." He was a constant student in everything that related to his profession. But more than this, he was alive to all matters of intellectual and scientific concern; a man of deep insight and accurate judgment, always in search of the newest and most advanced aspects of truth in whatever realm, and he was one who desired to follow where his convictions lead him. He was tenacious of his position, but always open to reason and new light. Earnest and conscientious in all things, retiring in disposition, gentlemanly in deportment, and sympathetic of heart. A good man, and we loved him.

It seems a cabinetmaker named Van Horn of West Springfield made several of these dental chairs and put them on the market. About 1879, Dr. Elroy F. Cross started practice with one of these chairs, and after being discarded by him, Dr. J. Wesley Shaw obtained it and in turn sold it to William M. Williams, of dental depot fame. In May, 1888, the writer obtained this chair, used it for more than a year and finally sold it to a dental house in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was even at this late day a serviceable and convenient chair.

Doctor Searle, from 1869 to the time of his death, was located in Bill's block, 352 Main street. This office, which is now occupied by the writer, still contains several conveniences and helps made by the hands of the Doctor. The city directory of 1851 records the fact that he was practicing both medicine and dentistry in the building "directly opposite Exchange Temperance Hotel." He had granted him the honorary degree of D.D.S. Some have claimed he had an honorary M.D. This last I have been unable to verify.

Dr. C. S. Hurlbut came to Springfield in 1852. He studied with Dr. George H. White, and was for a time in Cleveland, Ohio. He started to go to Chicago, but was told at Cleveland that Chicago was not large enough to support a dentist and so remained in Cleveland for awhile, after which he returned to this city. In 1858 he attended the Baltimore Dental School, being the first graduate of a dental institution from this part of the State. Doctor Hurlbut early joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society and was associated for many years in an active capacity on various committees.

In 1863-64 he served in the executive committee; 1865-66 was treasurer; 1877-78 was second vice-president; 1878-80 was first vice-president and in 1880-81 was president. The Doctor served as preceptor for many practitioners, and a number of our local dentists were students under his guidance. He died January 6, 1901. At the time of his death he was a member of the Valley District and Massachusetts Dental Societies. The Valley District members attended his funeral in a body and passed resolutions relative to his worth and loss to the profession.

Dr. Lester Noble, now of Longmeadow, formerly in active practice in Washington, District of Columbia, and of this city, is the oldest dental graduate in this vicinity. He studied with Doctor Keep of Boston, and was at one time a tutor at the Baltimore Dental College, from which he obtained his degree. Doctor Keep commenced practice in Longmeadow as early and perhaps earlier than 1840. He was employed in a spectacle factory, and his first "victims" in the new art were his shopmates and their families. However, he soon went to Boston and became one of the best-known and most successful dentists in the country. It was in his office that the artificial dental plate was made for Doctor Parkman who was murdered by Professor Webster of Howard College. By the testimony of Doctors Keep and Noble—then a student with Doctor Keep—Professor Webster was convicted of the murder. This was the most noted murder trial of the time, and in fact one of the most noted of all history. Doctor Noble, who made the plate, was summoned from the Baltimore Dental College—he then being a student there—and was able to produce the metal cast upon which the plate, found among the remains of Doctor Parkman, was made. The excitement that accompanied and followed the bringing into juxtaposition the plate and cast in the court, and the demonstration that each was the counterpart of the other, thus identifying the human fragments taken from the furnace of Professor Webster, was dramatic in the extreme. Doctor Noble was demonstrator of mechanical dentistry at the Baltimore College during 1851-52, and in September, 1852, arranged an association with Doctor Maynard of Washington, which continued until 1859, when, on account of poor health, he was forced

to give up practice for ten years. In 1869 he opened an office in this city and for many years was one of our leading practitioners, enjoying a lucrative practice. He gave up active practice in 1898 and in that year the Valley District Dental Society presented him with a memorial autograph album and listened to a very interesting paper on his reminiscences of the early days of dentistry. In this paper he mentioned the very interesting experiences he had during the early days of studentship with Doctor Keep and of his remarkable associations in the administration of ether—for his studentship started only one month after the first surgical operation under the influence of ether at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Thus his studentship saw the advent of air chambers, the use of anæsthesia in surgery and the use of amalgum as a filling material. He prepared a paper on "Personal Recollections of the Early Use of Sulphuric Ether as an Anæsthetic," which played no small part in clearing the misty atmosphere of those early days in reference to the real discoverer of anæsthesia. Doctor Noble is now an honorary member of the Massachusetts and Valley District Dental Societies. We have no man of our profession, locally, who is greater respected than he. Long may he live to enjoy the fruits of an honest, untiring, unselfish, faithful life.

Every few years we have had some charlatan spring up with a "painless system of dentistry." The last decade has produced its crop in this respect, and it is most interesting to here state that the so-called "painless dentist" is rather an ancient thing hereabouts, for about 1849 a Mr. Davis, who kept a daguerotype shop on Armory Hill, branched out with a painless system. If the daguerotype business did not produce an income, the "painless method" certainly did for a few years. His method proved to be the placing of arsenic in a carious and aching tooth until the ache had subsided, and then filling over the decay with a substance composed of mercury and silver coin fillings. It certainly was painless for the time being, but the future developed quite another result, at least his patients in time thought so. Similar methods have since been foisted on the public and the results have been quite on par with those of earlier days. A few years ago we had the so-called "Hale Method," and history

was again repeated. Its local sponsor soon lost his prestige and departed for other fields. The intelligent public are coming to understand that it is best to discriminate between the unethical and ethical practitioners, and that the use of large sign exhibits hung at sidewalk entrance and the public prints to call attention to certain questionable methods of practice are a delusion and a snare. Truly may it be said that there is nothing new in "fakerdom" except the gullible public.

Dr. Jesse Porter of Chicopee was born May 13, 1834, in Detroit, Michigan. In 1852 he commenced a studentship of two years with Dr. Joseph Beals of Greenfield. Doctor Beals in the early years of the profession made a specialty of teaching dentistry, and many of the older men were taught by this conscientious and learned practical dentist. In 1855 he worked for his uncle, William Lester, M.D., of South Hadley, who although a physician, graduate of the Berkshire Medical College, in the class of the late Dr. J. G. Holland, practiced dentistry as well. Doctor Lester learned practical dentistry from Doctors White of Northampton and Beals of Greenfield. While with Doctor Lester he for part of the time had an office at North Hadley. In May, 1856, Doctor Porter came to Chicopee and has been located there ever since. From 1856 to 1859 he made occasional trips for a few days to South Hadley, Hadley and North Hadley, often arising at 4 A. M. In 1855 Dr. N. E. Ames of Springfield persuaded him to try two weeks with him as mechanical dentist, with a view to future partnership. Doctor Ames at this time had a circuit taking in the Brookfields, Braintree, Warren, Ware and Spencer. The Doctor well remembers a large sorrel horse with a white face Doctor Ames used to drive on these trips. It stood 16 hands high and was a decidedly fast horse for those days. Not agreeing in minor points, Doctor Porter decided he would not form a partnership with Doctor Ames.

As showing the difference between the old and the new methods of practice, we give an inventory of Doctor Porter's office in 1857: A suite of two ordinary rooms at a rent of \$50 per year; one room serving for operating and waiting room and the other for laboratory work. In the first room were an Archer dental chair, four common

wooden chairs, a cabinet made from an old instrument case, set on a stand, two pairs of yellow cotton curtains, and on the floor a Bockin carpet (a carpet not now in use and made of cotton with a printed figure). The cabinet contained nine pairs of Chevalier forceps, six ivory-handled pluggers, two dozen excavators, and these last included the so-called burs. The laboratory contained a Chevalier lathe, an old table with a filing block, and two drawers attached for gold and silver work; alcohol for heating up cases and soldering; two blow pipes—one compound and one mouth blow pipe; a barrel of plaster, and a few impression cups. While this may seem a meagre outfit from present point of understanding, yet in those days it was considered quite extravagant, especially the Archer chair, for many used nothing but an ordinary wooden rocker.

When Doctor Porter came to Chicopee several practitioners were there: Doctors Lovejoy, Buckminster, Morgan, Lawrence, and Robinson, and at Chicopee Falls a Doctor Henry. Doctor Lovejoy had two sons who were students in his office. There was no professional exchange of ideas or courtesies, each looking on the other as an intruder. It is interesting to record that in August, 1857—the panic year—Doctor Porter had in fees just \$16. In 1859 and a little later there came to Chicopee a Doctor Pease who had studied with Dr. Flavius Searle of Springfield; Doctor Rice from Great Barrington; Doctor Waite and Doctor Sweet. Doctor Waite in a few years sold his practice to Dr. A. M. Ross. There followed Doctor Henry at the Falls, Dr. C. T. Stockwell and Dr. M. W. Miles.

Between 1855 and 1860 there was a Doctor Nettleton who lived in West Springfield, next to where the old Belden tavern stood. He seems to have been an itinerant, fond of horses and horse trading. He went from house to house soliciting patronage. Traces of him have been found in Westfield, Southwick, Huntington and Chester. Along about 1860 he went to Worcester, and was permanently located there for many years. He died there a few years ago.

Westfield's first practitioner was Dr. Isaac Woolworth, born May 1, 1810, in Pinckney, New York. He graduated from Fairfield College, Herkimer County, New York, in 1834. While at this college special attention was paid to medicine and dentistry, and

during vacation time he prescribed for persons needing medical attention, and relieved the woes of those needing dentistry by extraction and the filling of teeth. After graduation he first practiced medicine. Late in 1834 he was in Montreal, Canada, and paid some little attention to dentistry. It was at this time that Montreal had its famous epidemic of cholera, and the Doctor rendered valuable aid in the capacity of physician, many times having to assist in the burying of the dead. In 1836 he returned to the states and located in Westfield, at which time it was necessary to take his instruments and travel about the country, doing work in the houses of his patients and always endeavoring to educate the people in the preservation of the natural teeth. After a time he had established a patronage large enough to warrant his giving up journeying, and remain at his home office in Westfield. In 1839 he removed to Hartford, Connecticut, but was soon persuaded to remove to Southbridge, Massachusetts, where he remained until 1842, when he returned to Westfield and practiced until 1857. He then removed to Meriden, Connecticut, and afterwards to New Haven. He died February 14, 1879.

Doctor Woolworth was a worthy representative of his profession and had many students, among whom may be mentioned, Martin Tinker, who settled in St. Louis, Missouri; William Bush of Westfield, who first settled in Alabama and afterwards in Brooklyn, New York, where his sons practice dentistry at the present time; Dr. Alfred Woolworth, a brother, who practiced a number of years at North Brookfield, Massachusetts; Anson Munger and Henry M. Miller of Westfield, both well and favorably known. Doctor Woolworth was a member and a contributor by essays and clinics to the advancement of the Connecticut Dental Society; a man of learning, of broad views and progressive ideas, enthusiastic in his calling, always anxious to elevate the scientific aspects of his profession, and ever ready to give others the benefit of his years of study in medicine and dental surgery. His students always left him to enter practice, filled with high fundamentals and ideals gained from his master mind. Up to the time he practiced at Southbridge he had done no work in artificial dentistry, and seeing a set of teeth which had

been made by a Doctor Morrell of Worcester, he called on him and desired instruction in the art. As showing the spirit of the times, it is only necessary to state that he was unsuccessful, and had to return home and work out the problem unaided. He invented many useful appliances for his own use, always fashioning his instruments to suit the requirements of each case. In 1870 he edited a book on dentistry for the use and instruction of his patrons. A personal study of this book has demonstrated the fact that he was a practitioner far in advance of his time, and many of the thoughts and practical recommendations will bear a most favorable comparison to the best of the present. It is a work worthy of a place on the shelves of every dental library.

Doctor Woolworth descended from an old and honorable Massachusetts family from whom he inherited a fondness for study and investigation, and although living in a new and unsettled country, where educational advantages were almost unattainable, three brothers in the family acquired a profession. While in practice at Westfield his office was first in the Holland and afterwards in the Connor block.

Dr. H. M. Miller, now living in Westfield but not in active practice, was born in Tatham (West Springfield), June 10, 1826. He taught school in that neighborhood for seven winters and began the study of dentistry with Doctor Woolworth in 1849. On September 2, 1851, he commenced practice at Plymouth, Massachusetts, but returned to Westfield in October, 1856, and has remained there ever since, except during the year 1866. The art of carving teeth was learned from Dr. George H. White of Springfield. For twenty years he had his office in the Conner block, afterwards moving to Masonic and Morgan blocks respectively. He is now located at his home, 15 State street. He has ever been an ethical, conscientious and unselfish practitioner, an active working member of the old Connecticut Valley Society, serving in many subordinate offices, and its president in 1873-74. At present he is an honorary member of the Massachusetts and Valley District Dental Societies. There is no practitioner of the earlier years for whom we cherish kindlier feelings and respect. Doctor Miller died at Westfield April 9, 1902.

Dr. E. Lincoln Clark studied dentistry in Northampton and with Doctor Woolworth of Westfield, and located, about 1855, in Westfield and remained until 1860, when he left for Dubuque, Iowa, where he is still in practice.

Dr. H. W. Clapp studied with Dr. A. S. Flagg of Whitinsville, Massachusetts, and practiced there for a short time. Leaving dentistry he entered the United States Armory where he was employed for a brief period. About 1865 he entered Dr. H. M. Miller's office, and in a few months bought this practice. He is still in practice in Westfield.

Dr. E. M. Goodrich, who now has a summer practice at Cottage City and a winter one in Florida, bought the practice of Dr. E. Lincoln Clark in 1860, but later sold it to Dr. G. A. Walkley, a graduate of the New York College of Dentistry. Doctor Walkley is still in practice there.

A student of Dr. E. Lincoln Clark's, named Greenwood, had an office for a short time at Chester, Massachusetts. This was in the early sixties.

The first resident dentist in Palmer was probably Dr. Joseph Gould. He is known to have been in practice there in the early sixties. He had a relative, Dr. J. M. Gould of East Douglas, Massachusetts, with whom he studied for a few years. After leaving Palmer he had an office for a time in the Massasoit block in Springfield.

Dr. A. B. Cowan of Springfield, who studied with Dr. Flavius Searle, was the next resident practitioner in Palmer and remained there for many years. Before taking up dentistry he was an expert machinist in a shop on Taylor street in this city. He died some three years ago. He was a member of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society for several years. About 1880 he had an office for a year in Springfield.

Dr. Cyrus W. Cross, a veteran of the Civil War, was born in Monson July 15, 1807, and died in Palmer a few years ago. He took up the study of dentistry (after returning from the war) with Dr. Joseph Gould and later with Dr. J. M. Gould of East Douglas. After completing his course, he had an office for two years in Wilbraham. He then returned to Palmer and was in active practice

up to the time of his death. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society October 21, 1875, and retained his membership for several years.

Dr. A. S. Flagg practiced in Wilbraham, commencing in the early sixties. For many years before this he was in practice at Whitinsville, Massachusetts. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society June 11, 1868, and retained an active interest for five years.

The first resident practitioner in Holyoke was Dr. George Bowers, who located there in the fifties. Besides practicing dentistry he had a school for penmanship for a short time. At one time Doctor Bowers had a son in practice with him. He left Holyoke for Springfield, Vermont, where he resided for many years; afterwards going to Nashua, New Hampshire. While in Springfield he was a member of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society.

Dr. Henry Wheeler was the next practitioner in Holyoke and was in active practice in the late fifties and early sixties. He died in Maine several years ago. He was a firm believer in magic and hypnotism and practiced the latter to a certain extent.

Dr. D. Murlless started in the early sixties and is still in active practice in Holyoke. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society June 10, 1869, and is still a member of its successor body, the Northeastern Dental Association.

Dr. H. O. Hastings, a student with Doctor Wheeler, began practice in Holyoke in the late sixties. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society June 17, 1873, and was a member at the time of its consolidation. He is at present a member of the Massachusetts and Valley District Societies and is still in practice.

Dr. Levi C. Taylor studied with Doctor Bowers at Springfield, Vermont. Coming to Holyoke January 1, 1868, he formed a partnership with Doctor Hastings. They jointly purchased Doctor Wheeler's practice. This partnership lasted for several months. Doctor Taylor bought out Doctor Hastings and continued there until 1875, when he went to Hartford. Doctor Taylor joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society October 23, 1868, and ever remained a true, conscientious, progressive member. He served in many subordinate offices and was its president in 1877-78. At present he is one of Hartford's foremost practitioners.

Drs. D. H. & E. C. Smith, brothers, commenced practice in the early seventies. On June 13, 1872, Dr. D. H. Smith was elected to membership in the Connecticut Valley Dental Society, and Dr. E. C. Smith on October 3, 1874. They retained membership but a short time; excepting this they have taken no interest in dental societies. Dr. E. C. Smith is now in practice in Westfield, and his brother is still in Holyoke.

Dr. D. C. Harkins, brother of Rev. P. J. Harkins, graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College and commenced practice in the early seventies. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society October 24, 1872, but held his membership only a few years. He died recently.

Dr. C. A. Brackett, now one of the best and most progressive dentists of Newport, Rhode Island, was in Holyoke in the early seventies, serving studentship in the office of Dr. Levi C. Taylor. He joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society June 17, 1873.

Dr. G. S. H. Comins was in Holyoke from 1876 to 1879.

Dr. George A. Maxfield, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, came to Holyoke about 1881 and is still in active practice there, being the foremost and leading dentist. He labored industriously and intelligently to elevate the standard of professional life by active work in the various dental societies. For many years he was secretary of the Connecticut Valley Society, and it may be safely recorded that no one man has done greater good for dentistry in an official capacity. Since the consolidation into the Northeastern he has refused its presidency. He has read many essays and given clinics before societies. He is a member of the Massachusetts, Valley District, Northeastern, American Academy, and Institute of Stomatology Societies; an honorary member of the Vermont, New Hampshire, Delaware and Connecticut State Societies; an ex-president of the Massachusetts Society; and censor of the Valley District from its inception. He has been honored by being selected by the State society for membership on the Board of Registration, and at present is serving his second term in office. Doctor Maxfield is always active for educated, advanced and ethical professional life.

Dr. Pardon Hildreth Derby was born in Lowell, Massachusetts,

December 5, 1827, and studied dentistry with Dr. C. S. Hurlbut, Sr. In 1860 he opened an office at the corner of Main and Pynchon streets, where he remained until burned out by the "great fire." Soon afterwards he formed a partnership with Dr. Flavius Searle. Doctor Derby was probably the first dentist to administer gas in Springfield, for the painless extraction of teeth. About 1860 Doctor Colton gave a free exhibition in our City Hall of the effects of nitrous oxid gas upon individuals. Doctor Derby remembers that the late Tilly Haynes and George R. Townsley inhaled the gas, the result being that Mr. Haynes chased Mr. Townsley around the platform to the amusement of the audience. Doctor Colton on the same evening extracted a tooth for a person under its deeper influence. This exhibition was a perfect success. Many practitioners of the later years have been students in his office. The doctor well recalls how in his early days the dentists were reticent regarding their methods of practice and continued so until the formation of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society. He was one of the charter members of the Connecticut Valley Society and remained an active and official member up to the time of its consolidation, when he joined its successor—the Northeastern. At the present time he is in active professional life at 435 Main street, opposite Court Square. In commenting on his career in dentistry, Doctor Derby has said, "Forty years is a long time to practice a profession; and great improvements have been made along many lines, which enables the practitioner to work more easily for himself and his patients." In his younger years employment was had at the Armory, and there as an expert machinist was laid the foundation for that expert training of the fingers so desirable in dentistry.

Dr. M. B. Renslow served a studentship with Dr. Flavius Searle and opened an office about 1866 at 447 Main street, in one of the front rooms, now occupied by the Connecticut Valley Dental Depot. Being an expert barber and mechanic he naturally was of an inventive turn of mind, and early in his career invented a gas pressure regulator for use in the manufacture of nitrous oxid gas. In partnership with Doctor Searle it was put on the market, but the manufacturers soon offered the same article in metal cylinders, so the

usefulness of the regulator was soon at an end. After remaining here about three years, Doctor Renslow bought a practice in Hartford, where he died a few years later. It has been said that Doctor Renslow also invented a regulator for controlling vulcanizers, but this has never been verified.

Dr. David Le Gro was born in Ogdensburg, New York, March 17, 1808. For many years he was employed at the United States Armory as an inspector, and early in his career there extracted teeth for his fellow laborers. He opened an office for evening work at his house on Byers street. Up to this time his principal attempt at dentistry had been in the line of extraction. After a few years of such work he left the Armory and began inserting teeth. His next location was on Main street, and from there he moved to West Worthington street, where he had an office in a brick house still standing. Practically his entire knowledge consisted of an ability to extract and insert teeth. There was no affiliation with confreres or societies. He died in Springfield, August 24, 1878.

Dr. J. J. Anderson was born in Oswego, New York, March 19, 1832. He served a studentship with his relative, Doctor Le Gro, and after a few years had passed, seeing and appreciating the conditions surrounding him at this office, he decided to be something more than the mere mechanic, so he joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society October 31, 1865, and a few years afterwards graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College. Doctor Anderson developed into a thorough, progressive, conscientious, educated and ethical representative of dentistry, and soon had a lucrative practice. For his time and years he was representative of the best in the profession. He served in many subordinate positions in the Connecticut Valley Society, and was its president in 1874-75. He was located on West Bridge street, where now Kinsman's block is located. He died in this city March 8, 1877, sincerely mourned by his patients, friends and confreres. Doctor Anderson always acknowledged obligations to the good Connecticut Valley Society membership in starting him on the accepted and correct professional life. After his death his son, Dr. Charles L. Anderson, a graduate of the Philadelphia Dental College, conducted the practice. He had

a successful career for a few years previous to his removal to Washington, District of Columbia, where he has since practiced.

Dr. J. N. Dodge, a veteran of the Civil War, studied dentistry with his uncle, Doctor Nettleton of Worcester, and located in Springfield about 1867 or 1868; first in Barnes' and then in Madden's block at the corner of Hillman and Main streets. He was an amateur artist and sculptor and had much artistic instinct. For many years he enjoyed a large practice. He was the inventor of an ether inhaler which was used locally for a time. Experimenting with anæsthetics brought him into a better understanding of nitrous oxide gas, and he formed a company for the manufacture and sale of "compound oxygen." It was not successful and the Doctor lost money in the enterprise. He was a member of the Connecticut Valley Society, though never prominent in its work. He died in this city about four years ago.

Dr. S. B. Bartholomew was born September 15, 1828, in Hamilton, New York. He attended the common schools and Colgate Academy, where his stepfather, Professor Morse, was for many years principal. About 1847 he went to Worcester and studied dentistry with Doctor Newton. About 1848 he opened an office in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and practiced there with success for some years. He served two terms in the Rhode Island Assembly. During the time Governor Sprague was the chief executive of Rhode Island he served on his staff with the rank of colonel. From 1861 to 1865 he was officially connected with the recruiting department of Rhode Island. At the close of the war he returned to Worcester, bought an interest in the *Gazette* and for the next few years acted in the capacity of advertising solicitor, business manager and editor. About 1869 he sold out his newspaper interests, and after a period of travel, came to Springfield and opened an office in the block where now the D. H. Brigham Co. is located. From there he moved to Brigham's block on State street, next west of the Baptist church, then to the old Christ church rectory which stood on the easterly corner of Dwight and State streets, and then to Gill's block, corner of Main and Bridge streets. In this latter place he was located for 15 years, and until he retired from active practice in 1895. On June

16, 1870, he joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Association, serving it well in many subordinate offices, and was finally elected president. While serving on its executive committee he did such good work that it is even spoken of at the present day. In the early eighties he was for three years a lecturer at the Baltimore Dental College, and presented many lectures and clinics of a varied nature. He is best remembered as a speaker of ability, and few in his day equalled him as a forceful, logical, extemporaneous orator. He is said to have obtained his first knowledge of elocution and oratory from Professor Raymond of Vassar College. While in this city he enjoyed a lucrative practice. He died November 11, 1898, in Boston, and was buried in Thompson, Connecticut. For many years of his life the Doctor was interested in copper mines, and at the time of his death derived a considerable income from this source.

Dr. James E. O'Brien graduated from Springfield High School with the class of 1879. He served a studentship of four or five years with Dr. J. N. Dodge, and afterwards graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College. About 1880 he opened an office in Fallon's block, 380 Main street, where he remained for about 13 years, until ill health compelled him to give up hard professional work. He was a member of the Connecticut Valley Society, though never active in its affairs. Up to the time of his death he enjoyed the confidence of the public and had a large and ever-increasing patronage.

Dr. John F. O'Neill was a graduate of our High School and the Philadelphia Dental College. His first office was at 357 Main street, and his last in the Fuller block. He was a member of the Connecticut Valley, Massachusetts and Valley Districts Societies. He died in this city in 1897.

Ambrose J. Devereaux, a product of our local schools, served a studentship with Dr. P. H. Derby, during 1873-74, and afterwards went to New Haven, where he died about eight years ago.

George M. Slate was a student with Doctor Lester Noble for more than a year and graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College. He had an office at 438 Main street, in 1874-75. He soon afterwards left for Australia and became the foremost practitioner in Melbourne.

Dr. Ralph Morgan, who practiced in Chicopee many years, came from that town to Springfield and had an office for a short time in the Massasoit House block.

Dr. Charles D. Carter spent a studentship of about two years with Dr. C. S. Hurlbut, Sr., and then graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College. In 1874 he opened an office at 162 Chestnut street, and soon had a large clientele. About 1880 he was compelled to seek a more favorable climate in California, where he died soon after arriving there.

Dr. Newton Morgan, a descendant of Miles Morgan, one of the early settlers of Springfield, was born in West Springfield, on Riverdale street, October 25, 1840. His early life was the common one of the farmer's boy of that period. Religion, education and thrift were the first thoughts in the rearing of children of that time, and in these matters the Doctor was well tutored. His education was acquired in the common and select schools, and at the age of seventeen years terminated in a few terms at what was then known as the "new" academy at Westfield, Massachusetts. Thinking for some time of choosing "mechanics" as an avocation, the winter of 1858 was spent with Milton Bradley, who then had a draughting school in this city. The plans, however, did not mature satisfactorily and later he decided to enter the ranks of dentistry. The matriculation for the study of this calling was on January 1, 1861, in the office of a well-known dentist in Connecticut, and later for a time in the office of Dr. C. S. Hurlbut, Sr., of this city. After a few years of practice he came to realize more fully what the public should look for and receive at the hands of a dentist, and after mature thought the decision was made that a course at a dental college would accomplish this, and in due time he graduated from the Philadelphia Dental College in the class of 1869. Since that time he has had a continuous practice in Springfield. The first location was in Patton's block, the second in Fallon's block, the third in Barnes' block, the fourth in Townsley's block, and the fifth in the Evans House block. On June 5, 1866, he became a member of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society, and from that time to the consolidation into the Northeastern he has been an interested worker in the

offices of chairman of executive committee, treasurer and president. He is now an honorary member of the Vermont State Society and an active member of the Massachusetts, Valley District and Northeastern Dental Societies. At the present time he is a censor of the Massachusetts Society. In the days of the *New England Dental Journal*, Doctor Morgan did much to further the good work of that periodical. To the younger men he has been a source of inspiration and help in many ways, and has always stood for the higher professional life. It truthfully may be said that he is one of our foremost representatives, who has arrived at that position by studious methods, steady application and honesty of purpose.

Jarius Searle Hurlbut was born in West Springfield January 5, 1842. At the age of ten years his parents moved to this city and he was graduated at the High School, under Ariel Parish, in 1860. He then went into the dental office of his brother, Dr. C. S. Hurlbut, Sr., with whom he was associated as student and partner until he entered the Philadelphia Dental College, from which he was duly graduated in the class of '65. He went West to begin practice, but, after spending a year in St. Paul, Minnesota, he returned to Springfield, and located at 374 Main street, whence in 1893, after an occupancy of twenty-seven years, he removed to the present Masonic building where he has since remained. On June 5, 1866, he joined the Connecticut Valley Dental Society and served it in the capacity of an executive officer and president. He is a member of the Valley District and the Massachusetts Dental Societies, serving the last as president, orator, and a member of the executive committee. He is also a member of the Northeastern Dental Association, the American Academy of Dental Science, the National Dental Association and the Odontological Society of New York City. On the passage of the State dental law, in 1887, he was appointed by Governor Ames a member of the Board of Registration, and from 1891 to 1895 served as its president. He has also been president of the American Association of Dental Examiners. In 1893 he was a member of the International Dental Congress.

Chester Twichell Stockwell was born in Royalston, Massachusetts, September 5, 1841. He attended the common and high schools

of Royalston and Winchendon, and later graduated from Eastman's Business College of Poughkeepsie, New York. He engaged in commercial pursuits in 1863-66 in Worcester and North Carolina. In 1867-68 he studied medicine with Doctor Saunders of Fitchburg, and afterwards matriculated at one of the Philadelphia colleges. However, he soon left and went to Des Moines, Iowa, where for two years he served on the staff of the *Iowa State Register* and other newspapers. While in the West Doctor Stockwell studied dentistry with J. Todd, M.D., and was associated in practice with Dr. James Watts. In 1872-75 he was in practice for himself and soon built up an extensive clientele. While at Des Moines he was for two years secretary of the Iowa Central Dental Society. His health failing, he was compelled to give up practice and seek a more favorable climate in Denver, Colorado. After a short sojourn there he came to Springfield in 1875, and for the first year thereafter was associated with Dr. Lester Noble, and for the following three years with Dr. J. Searle Hurlbut. He then went into practice for himself, first in Bill's block, then in Dickinson's block and still later in the Republican block, his present location. The Doctor early joined the Connecticut Valley Society and served on the executive committee, as secretary for four years, and as president in 1879-80. He is an ex-member of the American Academy of Dental Science, and of the American Dental Association. He is an active member of the Massachusetts, Valley District and Northeastern Dental Societies; an honorary member of the Odontological Society (New York City), New York State, Vermont and late New England Dental Societies; a corresponding member of the Brooklyn Ethical Association; an active member of the Springfield Literary Club, and for several years a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Besides serving in the editorial capacity mentioned, he edited the *New England Dental Journal* and the "Archives of Dentistry"; he was also corresponding editor of "The New Ideal," a Boston publication. In 1893 the World's Congress of Evolutionists met in Chicago and the Doctor, being invited to present a paper, brought forth the essay, "The Relation of Evolutionary Thought to Immortality." A letter from the president of this congress to the

Doctor says: "Your paper to the congress is a very valuable contribution to evolutionary literature. I know of nothing that surpasses it, and, in some respects, nothing that equals it." It, with other papers read at the congress, was published by the *Philosophical Journal* of Chicago. The many writings of Doctor Stockwell's presented before these various societies mentioned have always marked him as the gentleman, the scholar, the thinker and the scientist.

A history of dentistry in Hampden County would indeed be incomplete without some reference to events and circumstances which have had a part in its progress and prosperity. The organization of the Connecticut Valley Dental Society deserves more than passing notice. A few of the dentists of Western New England, feeling the need of associative effort for the promotion of the interests of dental science, assembled at the Massasoit House on the evening of November 10, 1863, and formed the society. A constitution and by-laws were adopted and the following persons residing in Hampden County signed the roll: Drs. F. Searle, N. E. Ames, P. H. Derby, and C. S. Hurlbut of Springfield; H. M. Miller of Westfield; Henry Wheeler of Holyoke; and A. B. Cowan of Palmer. Doctor Searle was elected president, Doctor Miller treasurer and Doctor Hurlbut member of the executive committee. Annual meetings (often more frequently) were held until 1894, when, in company with the New England Dental Society, the organization was merged into the Northeastern Dental Association. The formation of the society in 1863 was the beginning of the professional association and advancement which has since marked this region. Non-membership in the society was considered a lack in some of the essentials of professional qualification. Its honorable records attest its inestimable worth. The formation of a study club in the early eighties, under the guidance of Professor Mayr, and the founding of the *New England Journal of Dentistry* in Springfield in 1882, with Dr. C. T. Stockwell as editor, were two more events worthy of mention. Professor Mayr was a master of chemistry and bacteriology and soon made a name for himself in the world of dental science. He is still living and is one of Chicago's most noted chemists. Another event which aided in the advancement of the profession was the formation

of the Connecticut Valley Dental Depot in this city in 1839. In that year J. C. Parsons (later paper manufacturer of Holyoke) sold his drug store (located opposite Court Square) to C. L. Covell. E. Bigelow bought out Mr. Covell in 1845, and in 1860 William M. Williams came there to work. He served two years as clerk and five years as a member of the firm. In 1867 Mr. Williams sold his interest in the drug store, and buying the dental and surgical department moved it upstairs, where it has since been located. The worth and convenience of a good dental depot can only be appreciated by one in active practice. We have always been specially favored and assisted in our efforts by Mr. Williams and his assistant, the late Jesse Hosmer. For years this was the only supply house in New England outside of Boston. From 1845 to 1855 we had a second supply house in the drug store of B. K. Bliss, which stood on the corner of Bliss and Main streets.

In May, 1864, the Massachusetts Dental Society was formed at Boston and incorporated in April, 1865. Dr. N. C. Keep, formerly of Longmeadow, was its second president, serving in 1864-65-66. Dr. J. Searle Hurlbut of Springfield was the eighth president, in 1874; Dr. Flavius Searle of Springfield the sixteenth, in 1882; Dr. George A. Maxfield of Holyoke the 28th, in 1895. To further help the good work it was decided, in 1895, to divide the State into districts, and the Valley District was formed at Springfield, January 21, 1895. The State Society has an annual meeting the first week in June, while the district meets the third Monday of September, October, November, December, January, February, March, April and May. A chairman is selected at each meeting of the district to preside for that meeting. Dr. Andrew J. Flanagan of Springfield has been secretary from the formation. Dr. C. S. Hurlbut, Jr., of Springfield has been treasurer for the last three years. Drs. D. Hurlbut Allis, H. C. Medcraft of Springfield and Elliot T. Dickinson of Northampton, are the present executive committee. The following are members of both the Massachusetts and Valley District Societies: Drs. Stockwell, J. Searle Hurlbut, Morgan, Blake, Martin, Allis, Bugbee, Baldwin, Swazey, Medcraft, Wiley, Leitch, Boynton, MacDonald, Smith, Andrews, C. S. Hurlbut, Jr., J. W. Shaw, D. C. Shaw and

Flanagan of Springfield; Noble of Longmeadow; Shaw, Saunders and Miller of Westfield; Porter of Chicopee; Miles of Chicopee Falls; Roche of Palmer; Soule of Monson; Maxfield, Mirivier, O'Donnell, Hastings, O'Rielly, Bartlett and Scolley of Holyoke. It may be stated that the members of these societies have a "code of ethics," and stand for intelligent, conservative and higher professional life. Men who stand for such are always eligible for membership, while those outside these requirements are never enrolled. When a practitioner of dentistry is not a member of his state and district society, the public can look on him with suspicion as regards professional standing. What is known as the "Code of Ethics" always has been the only true guide for the profession in its dealings and associations with the public.

In the early eighties the Massachusetts, Connecticut Valley and New England Dental Societies deemed it advisable to have laws regulating the practice of dentistry, and started plans in various ways to bring this about. In 1887 the law was passed and went into force. It was amended in 1900. The Massachusetts Board of Registration in Dentistry consists of five members appointed by the Governor, and we are happy to state that it has always been free from bias and politics and ranks the equal of any. The State examinations have done much to elevate the standard of dentistry, and the words of appreciation—from the advanced minds in the profession—have been freely showered on the various examiners. The law has marked a distinct epoch in the history of dentistry in Massachusetts.

The good work being accomplished by dentistry along certain lines has been recognized by our hospitals, and we find Dr. J. Searle Hurlbut the dental surgeon on the staff of the Springfield Hospital, and Drs. P. J. MacDonald and Andrew J. Flanagan dental surgeons on the staff of the Mercy Hospital in Springfield.

The compilation of this chapter devoted to dentistry has been a matter of many hours of research and the following out of many points and hints. It has seemed to me that one older in dentistry should have undertaken the task. This not being practical, the writer took the matter up through respect and love for his profession, and by the wish of many of our local society members. It has indeed

seemed strange to me that dentistry was not recognized as of sufficient importance in 1886 to have a history written at the 250th Anniversary of Springfield. There may be errors—but they are those of an honest endeavor—and as such should be excused. It indeed would be unjust if due credit were not given to Dr. C. T. Stockwell for the use of many notes and facts he had prepared for the Columbian Dental Congress; to Drs. Newton Morgan, C. S. Hurlbut, Sr., Jesse Porter, Lester Noble, H. C. Hastings, H. M. Miller, all of our local society, and Levi C. Taylor, James and Charles McManus of the Connecticut Dental Society, for manuscripts, ideas and letters. To the Springfield *Republican*, *Homestead*, and City Library for the use of local historical facts gained from papers, manuscripts and books. To William M. Williams of our local dental depot, and to the records of the Connecticut Valley, Massachusetts, Northeastern and Valley District Dental Societies.

NOTE BY PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Andrew J. Flanagan, D.D.S., author of the article on the *Early Dentists of Hampden County*, was born in Springfield, July 10, 1866, and is the son of Mary (McQuade) and Terrence Flanagan.

He attended the Barrows Grammar School and the Springfield High School, class of 1885. After finishing his studies at the High School he spent several years in the office of the late James E. O'Brien, D.D.S., of this city as dental student. He then matriculated at the Philadelphia Dental College and graduated in the class of 1889. During the senior year at the dental college he also pursued a special medical course at the Medico-Chirurgical college of the same city.

Doctor Flanagan commenced practice in April, 1889, in this city, in the Evans House block and remained there four months, and ever since has been located in Bill's block, 352 Main street. He was appointed dental surgeon to the Mercy Hospital of this city at its beginning and is still holding the position.

He is a member of many dental and scientific societies, among which may be mentioned the following: New York Institute of Stomatology, National Dental Association, American Medical Association, Northeastern Dental Association, Massachusetts Dental Society and Connecticut Valley District Dental Society. He is also an honorary member of the Vermont Dental Society. Doctor Flanagan has been honored with the presidency of the Northeastern and of the Massachusetts Dental Societies, and has held chairmanships for several years in the various sections of the National Association.

He has been a generous contributor to the good work of these various societies by serving on various committees and presenting many clinics and essays relating to

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dentistry. He has been a contributor to the columns of many dental journals, and several of our local papers. The local dental society invited Doctor Flanagan to prepare the chapter on dentistry which appears in the history of Hampden County, published recently. As a member of the International Dental Congress he will serve this year as one of the members of the various committees on finance. He is a member of American-Irish Society and Connecticut Valley Historical Society of this city.

JUNE 13, 1902. Adjourned annual meeting. Officers elected—

President, WILLIAM F. ADAMS.

Vice-Presidents: GEORGE D. PRATT, JOHN WEST, W. G. MORSE.

Clerk and Treasurer, WILLIAM C. STONE.

Corresponding Secretary, HENRY A. BOOTH.

Executive Committee: A. H. KIRKHAM, EDWARD A. HALL, MRS. CHARLOTTE E. WARNER, FRANK G. TOBEY, DR. A. J. FLANAGAN, MISS M. A. BOOTH.

NOVEMBER 12, 1902. Quarterly meeting. W. F. ADAMS, *Chairman*, Judge A. M. COPELAND and A. H. KIRKHAM were appointed a committee to arrange and publish the second volume of Papers and Proceedings of the Society. A delegation from the Westfield Historical Society were present by invitation. A paper was read by Mrs. LILIAN PALMER POWERS, on *William Pynchon*, and a paper entitled *Historical Relations of Springfield and Westfield*, was read by J. C. GREENOUGH of Westfield.

Mrs. POWERS' paper:

William Pynchon

WE ARE all grateful, I think, to the founder of this goodly town of Springfield. He with wisdom and foresight located it here on the beautiful "Great River," and we are interested to know what manner of man he was, so I have endeavored to compile and to condense notes and extracts from the various sketches and reports of his life and work.

Mr. Pynchon was the representative of an ancient and wealthy English family. The first of the Pynchons came to England with the Conqueror, and had a grant of manor in Lincolnshire; thence they drifted after some generations into Northamptonshire, where a William Pynchon resided who was the grandfather of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury and the founder of All Soul's College, Oxford, who died in 1443, in the reign of Henry VI. From Northamptonshire they passed into Essex and had property at Writtle, a mile west of Chelmsford. The church at Writtle, a noble building, has its chancel nearly filled with monuments and memorial tablets of the Pynchon family.

Sir Edward Pynchon of Writtle, first cousin of our William Pynchon, married Dorothy Weston, sister of the Earl of Portland. The Earl of Portland married Elizabeth Pynchon, also a cousin of William Pynchon, and the arms of Weston and Pynchon are impaled at Skeens. At the death of Sir Edward, he wills as remembrance

to William Pynchon a piece of plate. A noble monument was erected to Sir Edward by his wife, upon the north side of the chancel of Writtle church, on which are emblazoned the Pynchon arms quartered with the Empsons; for John Pynchon (the grandfather of Sir Edward Pynchon and our William Pynchon) married Jane, the heiress of Sir Richard Empson, one of the ministers of Henry VII.

John Pynchon, the father of William, was educated at the University of Oxford, matriculated at New College December 20, 1577, and took his degree B.A. April 6, 1581. Being a younger son, he settled in Springfield, Essex County, where his son William, the New England colonist, was born about 1590. Springfield is situated nearly a mile to the north, northeast of Chelmsford. This is also a picturesque village and has a very ancient church with a low, square tower inscribed below the battlements of this "Prayse God for all the good Benefactors." There is a tablet on the wall of the vestry-room with the name of William Pynchon inscribed upon it as one of the church wardens, dated 1624—six years before he sailed for New England.

William Pynchon, as well as his father, was educated at Oxford, matriculating at Hart Hall, afterwards Hertford College, October 14, 1596, when he was eleven years old. It was the custom then to send boys to the Halls of Oxford at an early age. It was no doubt here that he acquired his familiarity with Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and accumulated those stores of theological and patriotic learning that he drew from later in life, in writing his various works. Burt says in his "History of Springfield," "Pynchon was without doubt the ablest reasoner and the best scholar residing here during the first century." He was one of the patentees named in the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from Charles I., which bears the date of March 28, 1628. He was also named in the same charter one of the "Assistants," and was connected with the government of the company before it was transferred to this side of the Atlantic. He was present at the most important meetings of the company in London, August 28 and 29, 1629, when it was voted that the Government and the Patent should be settled in New England.

Mr. Pynchon was one of the members who agreed to remove

the colonies in case the whole Government, together with the Patents, were legally transferred and established to remain here. So when four ships of Winthrop's fleet, the "Arbella," the "Ambrose," the "Jewel," and the "Talbot" sailed April 8, 1630, from the harbor of Cowes, Isle of Wight, for the far distant New England, William Pynchon, his wife Anna (daughter of William Andrews of Twiwell) and his four children, John, Anne, Margaret, and Mary, were on board the "Jewel."

In Winthrop's journal the story of this voyage is very interesting. England was at war with Spain at this time, and the voyagers, seeing sails off the coast, "fear it is Spanish ships in wait for them," and the preparation for repelling attack is given in detail, but happily the ships were not foes. Three days later, Winthrop says, "The 'Jewel' (Pynchon's vessel) and the 'Ambrose' came foul of each other, so as we much feared the issue, but, through God's Mercy, they came well off again." Later, he records the sending of a skiff for Pynchon, and his dining with them on board the "Arbella."

On the 12th of June they arrived at Salem. Soon after their arrival, before the ship they came over in returned to England, the wife of William Pynchon died.

On August 23, 1630, the first Court of Assistance was held at Charlestown on board the "Arbella," and Mr. Pynchon was present as one of the Assistants.

In the first year that William Pynchon came over, he founded the town of Roxbury and established there the first Congregational church. While at Roxbury he was for some years treasurer of the colony; and in 1634, when the "Commission for Military Affairs" was established by the Court, William Pynchon was one of the nine men appointed to serve with the Governor and Deputy Governor on this commission. The greatness of this appointment can be inferred by the power it placed in their hands, for they were deputed by the Court to dispose of all military affairs whatsoever, to ordain or remove officers, dispose of all companies, command them forth upon any occasion, make either offensive or defensive war, had power to imprison any they judged to be enemies of the Commonwealth, and it was lawful for said commissioners to put such persons to death.

In 1636, Mr. Pynchon became the founder of our Springfield upon the Connecticut River, the first town settled west of Boston, Cambridge and Watertown in Massachusetts. Pynchon and his company made their way here through the wilderness, but their goods were sent from Boston by water in Governor Winthrop's vessels the "Batcheller" and "Blessing of the Bay." The date of their arrival is not known, but on the 14th of May they subscribed an agreement which contained fifteen articles and which was designed to govern the inhabitants of Agawam (now Springfield). On July 16th the lands were purchased of the Indians. There is on record at the Registry of Deeds in Hampden County, a paper which conveys the Indians' title to the lands on both sides of the river for four or five miles to William Pynchon, Esq., Mr. Henry Smith and their heirs and associates.

All the settlements on the Connecticut River, Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor, and Agawam, were at first under a joint commission, of which Mr. Pynchon was a member. He attended a court held at Hartford in November, 1636, and also in 1637. It had been uncertain how many of the settlements were under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, but in 1638 the people of Agawam became satisfied that "By God's Providence" they were now fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, "and they chose Mr. William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in our plantation of Agawam, till we receive further directions from the General Court in Massachusetts Bay." This was really a form of government independent of the authority of Connecticut, and led to prolonged controversy in which Mr. Pynchon acted as leader of the colonists. Their position was finally sustained by the General Court of Massachusetts, which on the second of June, 1641, adopted an elaborate paper which asserted the claims of the Massachusetts colony to the plantation, and ordered that "William Pynchon gentleman shall have full power and authority, for the year, to govern the inhabitants of Agawam" (or Springfield), for, a little earlier than this, namely the 14th of April, 1640, the inhabitants assembled and changed the name of their plantation from Agawam to Springfield, in memory of Mr. Pynchon's native place. So Mr. Pynchon was magistrate

of the colony from the beginning to 1651, first as a member of the joint commission, then by vote of the people of Agawam, and then by commission of the General Court.

Under date of October 3, 1645, Mr. Pynchon wrote to Governor Winthrop: "My only son is now married and he hath brought home his wife this day to my house where he may continue as long as he finds comfort and benefit." His letters to the Governor are found in the Massachusetts collection and are interesting in occasional allusions to persons of that time or of occurring incidents. In a letter dated Springfield, October 19, 1648, he alludes to Mr. Ludlow's visit at his house, and to some fault Mr. Ludlow found with the construction of some orders that had been prepared, to which Mr. Pynchon adds this sage conclusion, "But often tymes it falls out that a man may be one of the twenty that will find fault, and yet be none of the twenty that will mend them."

Besides his public duties, Mr. Pynchon was an active business man. Coming as he did as one of the patentees of the Winthrop colony, he obtained some special privileges concerning trade with the Indians, and it was the fur trade which gave him a special interest in founding Springfield upon the Connecticut River, upon the great Indian trail leading from the Narragansett and Pequot countries, via the Westfield River to the Mohawk country above Albany, so that parties of Indians were constantly passing his door in both directions. It was in this way that he became widely known and very influential among the various tribes of the west as well as of New England. It was to him, and not the Connecticut people, that the Mohawks sent as proof of death the scalp and hands of Sassacus, the Pequot sachem, who had fled to them for refuge after the destruction of the fort at Mistick.

For many years the name in common use among the Mohawks for the New Englanders was "Pynchon's men," out of respect for their nearest New England neighbor at the mouth of the Agawam on the Connecticut River, just as they named the Dutch "Corlear's men," out of respect for Antony Von Corlear.

So deeply rooted was the esteem and honor that the Indians held for Mr. Pynchon and his family, that more than a hundred

years after this, in 1751, the chiefs of the Mohawks requested the Massachusetts Government "That Brigadier Dwight and the Colonel Pynchon of that day might be improved in future interviews, and as to Colonel Pynchon in particular; they urged acquaintance with his ancestors and experience of their integrity."

The fur trade in the vicinity of Springfield was controlled by him. To facilitate this trade, he early established a warehouse near the southern limit of what was then considered Springfield. This place still retains the name of Warehouse Point. It was for many years the center of an extensive trade with the Indians, and was the point from which the furs were shipped to England. Mr. Pynchon added very largely to his fortune while here in Springfield, and at the time of his return to England was one of the richest men in New England.

Mr. Pynchon succeeded in preserving friendly relations with the Indians of the vicinity by his wise and conciliatory policy. One part of his policy was to treat the Indians as an independent people. In 1648, for example, he was directed by Lieutenant Governor Dudley to take into custody certain Indians who had murdered some other Indians. In his answer, Mr. Pynchon convinced Governor Dudley that neither the murderers nor those murdered were under the jurisdiction of the colony. The attempt to interfere was at once abandoned by the authorities at Boston; but whenever the Indians committed offences against our own people, Mr. Pynchon claimed jurisdiction, and by a wise blending of authority with an appeal to the Indians' sense of justice, he commonly succeeded in securing redress. The Indians had confidence in him and were plainly ready to be guided by his wishes. He was sole magistrate and administrator of Indian affairs for all Massachusetts west of Wachusett Mountain. Thanks to Mr. Pynchon's sagacity, the Indian portion of Springfield's narrative is uneventful for some years.

He was also the representative man of Springfield abroad. The communications of the Government at Boston were made through him, and in 1643, the colony having become well established and the Bay Path communicating with Boston more easily passed over, Mr. Pynchon was again elected an Assistant and continued to be

annually re-elected until the troublous times of 1650. This brings one to the time of the publication of Mr. Pynchon's famous book entitled, "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption." It is a small quarto volume of 158 pages, printed in London by T. M. & George Whittington and James Moxon. There is now known to be but three copies extant, one in the British Museum, one in the Congregational Library, Boston, and one owned by Rev. Thomas R. Pynchon, D.D., of Hartford, Connecticut. The sentiments of this book were deemed heretical by the ministers of the ruling theology and by the Legislature of the State. The book was condemned and publicly burned by the sheriff in Boston, at the head of State street, where the old State House stands. And it was ordered that an answer be written to Mr. Pynchon's book by Rev. John Norton, which should be sent to England to be published. It is a part of the history of the times that Sir Henry Vane wrote from England to the colonial authorities at Boston, remonstrating with them on the course that they had taken with Pynchon. Mr. Pynchon in this persecution suffered the usual fate of men who are ahead of their age. "His disappointment and grief over the cruel destruction of the fruit of his labor must have been intense." He had published the book undoubtedly as a labor of love, hoping to spread among the people a more wholesome religious spirit than that inspired by the old theology.

"The Westminster Assembly had carried the expression of Calvinistic doctrine further than moderate Puritans like Mr. Pynchon would be ready to go." For four years before, in 1646, after hearing of the struggle in the British Parliament over religion and the form of discipline to be adopted, Mr. Pynchon wrote the following:

"The Scotts say that their fourme of Presbyterian government is the only way of Christ, and the Independents say that their fourme of discipline is the only way of Christ. But the Parliament say that neither of them is the only way of Christ, and therefore they have ordained Commissioners to supervise the conclusions of the Presbyterian courts. But truly, where zeal of God's glory, and godly wisdom are joined together; a world of good hath bin done by godly ministers (even in England) that have held no certaine fourme of discipline; on the contrary, where a cold spirit doth rule in ministers, though they may have a good fourme of government, their people may be said to have a name to live and yet be dead Christians."

Notwithstanding the vigorous terms employed by the General Court in October, 1650, proposing (God willing) to proceed with Mr. Pynchon according to his demerits unless he retract his heresies, he yet remained within their jurisdiction for about two years, and in the end chose his own time for leaving the colony and retiring with his princely fortune to England.

In 1653, he bought land in Wraysbury, County Bucks (near his famous Bulstrode relations). Wraysbury is in the heart of England, about three miles below Windsor Castle and directly opposite Magna Charter Island and Runnymede. Here under the Puritan Commonwealth in England, which must have been agreeable to one of his political and religious opinions, in the enjoyment of his fortune, surrounded by many friends of his early life, with abundant leisure, this great Puritan found the repose which was denied him in Massachusetts. Mr. Pynchon appears to have given the ten remaining years of his life to study and writing.

The year of his arrival in England, he published "The Jews Synagogue, a Treatise concerning the worship used by the Jews." Two years later he published two treatises on the Sabbath—"The Time when the First Sabbath was ordained," by William Pynchon, Esq., 1654; and "Holy Time, or the Time Limit of the Lord's Day," by William Pynchon, Esq.

Norton's answer to Mr. Pynchon's first book was not published until 1653. Two years later Mr. Pynchon published a rejoinder bearing the following title, "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption, or Christ's Satisfaction discussed and explained," by William Pynchon, late of New England, 1655. This is a quarto of 440 pages, and is by far the most elaborate of Mr. Pynchon's works. A copy of this book is in the library of Harvard University.

His last book was entitled "The Covenant of Nature made with Adam, Described and Cleared from Sundry Great Mistakes." In this volume the address to the reader is dated "From my Study, Wraysbury, Feb. 10th, 1661."

Mr. Pynchon died at Wraysbury, October 29, 1662, aged 72 years. His will is published in the "Historical and Genealogical Register."

His second wife lived only five years after leaving New England, dying October 10, 1657. She was Mrs. Frances Sanford of Dorchester, whom Mr. Pynchon married before his removal from Roxbury to Springfield. She was the mother of Henry Smith, who married Anne, the daughter of Mr. Pynchon, and who came to Springfield with Mr. Pynchon and was one of the founders and leading men of the town, and in 1653, the next year after Mr. Pynchon returned to England, he also followed him there.

Mr. Pynchon's only son, John, remained in Springfield, inheriting the lands his father had acquired here, his store of goods and the special privileges which had been granted in the way of trade with the Indians, and was placed at the front of every undertaking leading to the development of the country, and from him are descended all of the Pynchon name in America.

There is a striking portrait of Mr. Pynchon in the possession of the Essex Historical Society of Salem. It was painted in England and sent by him to his son John.

"With his long, closely-fitting coat and small clothes, the broad collar or band of linen lying flat upon his shoulders, and a closely-fitting silk cap upon his head, he was the impersonation of quiet dignity and patriarchal grace."

His seal ring with his arms engraved upon it is still in existence and in possession of one of his descendants in the line of primo-geniture.

J. C. GREENOUGH's paper:

Historical Relations of Springfield and Westfield

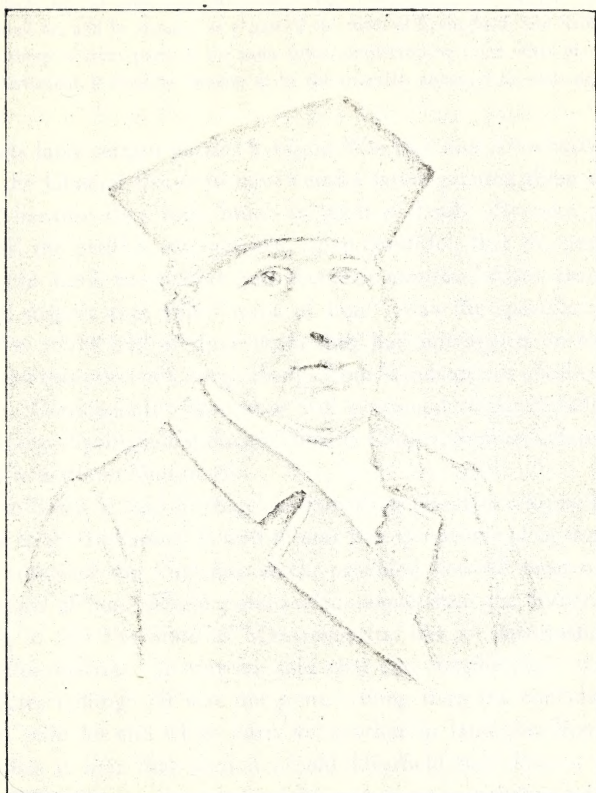
ASTRONOMY and geology are primal sources of history. Geologists tell us—and their statements are substantiated by obvious fact—that an estuary of the sea, a broad bay extending from the Atlantic Ocean on the south into what is now known as Vermont and New Hampshire, filled all the area now covered by the lower valley of the Connecticut River. As the estuary was filled by material brought down by glacial agencies and the debris of inflowing streams, the underlying gravels, clays and sands were deposited, forming the level areas of the Connecticut valley. Geology thus affirms the primeval unity of Springfield and Westfield. Cowper says:

"Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations, who had else,
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

The mountains that have separated us, though they have not made us enemies, are ridges of the trap range which became, when Westfield was incorporated, our dividing line. It is one of the revenges of time that this range,—a natural hindrance to communication,—should in our day facilitate it by the excellent road material which it furnishes.

The Westfield River, in some remote time, finding its way through the ridge, and during long periods deepening and widening its channel, has proved our strong ally in opening between the towns a way of communication. It now reflects with rippling joy the fruit of its work as heavy trains roar along its banks, carriages and teams rattle by, and the trolley cars, the latest shuttles of social interchange, hurry past. All these means of communication, especially the last, have done much to make a social unity of these towns, corresponding to the geological unity, ere the walls of trap rock were thrust through the bed of the old estuary.

We find in the early years of the written history of Springfield, that its boundaries included a good part, if not all, of the territory



Wm Shepard Colb

From "The Battle of Fell's Point" by William Abbatt.

of West Springfield and Westfield. In 1647 the General Court of Massachusetts (Bay) issued the following order:

"It is ordered by this court. that Woronoko upon Connecticut river within this jurisdiction, shall be, and be reputed as a part of the town of Springfield, and liable to all charges there as other parts of the same town, until erecting some other plantation more convenient, it shall be thought fit by the court to annex it to such new plantation."

Twelve years later certain parties living in Windsor and Dorchester petitioned the General Court to have certain lands granted them at Woronoco, because they were much in want of land. By vote of the deputies, the petition was granted, upon condition that the petitioners should settle themselves and secure a minister within three years. We suspect that this "want of land" was for speculative purposes, for at the end of three years they had not settled on the land, with the exception of George Phelps from Windsor, nor obtained a minister. Consequently Woronoco still pertained to Springfield. In the meantime Springfield induced Thomas Cooper, Samuel Chapin and others to settle in Woronoco.

When so much is said in these modern days about our injustice as a people to the Indians, it is well to note that the people of Springfield, like others of the Puritanic stock, provided that all receiving original grants of land should purchase the same from the Indians. This town, in fact the State of Massachusetts, has an untarnished record in this matter. It may be said that the consideration was in many cases trifling. It was not more trifling than the consideration often paid by one white party to another in land purchases. Tradition has it that that section of old Deerfield now known as the town of Shelburne was conveyed by one party to another for a new wheelbarrow.

Springfield showed not a little broadmindedness in the settlement of Woronoco. There were reasons for holding Woronoco within the precincts of Springfield. Though there was an abundance of open meadows and upland glades, cleared before settlements by the fires of the Indians on the east side of the river, these very fires had narrowed the supply of wood and timber. In 1647, Springfield had voted "that no timber, boards, planks, shingle-timber, nor pipe-

staves should be carried out of the town from the east side of the river." In that part of Springfield called Woronoco the supply of wood and timber was more abundant.

The determination of the people of Springfield to start another plantation or town found effective expression in 1664, when at a town meeting, held February 7, Capt. John Pynchon, Nathaniel Ely, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley and Elizur Holyoke were chosen as a standing committee, "to have the sole power to order matters concerning the lands in Woronoco and for admittance of inhabitants for that place and for granting of lands there, or for any other affairs that concern that place and that may conduce to the settling the said towne. This committee to hold till the town see cause otherwise to order."

Under this forceful and wise committee, grants were made to men who came to work the land, build houses, and to stay. It is only necessary to turn to the Westfield directory today to find that men by the names of Cooke, Day, Ingersol, Osborne, Ashley, Noble, Root and Cooley came to stay. The committee made short work with non-resident speculators; in 1667 the committee declared the lands of certain grantees "forfeited fully" unless they begin the work of settlers in fencing, etc. Under this vigorous committee, the cultivated lands were protected from the surrounding pasturage and forests by a common fence, built by the owners of the cultivated lands, each paying for the same in proportion to his holding. Across the roads, or common cart paths that crossed these lands, gates were erected and penalties imposed upon those passing who left them open. Five shillings was a common fine for leaving a gate open.

In response to a request of the settlers in Woronoco, the people of Springfield, in a town meeting held February 2, 1668, voted to leave the inhabitants of Woronoco "to manage their own matters, or as the Honored General Court shall further order. And we hope the Court will see cause to order them to be a township, and that they, through the favor of God, may grow up into a comfortable society, and be a happy neighborhood to us and our friends and theirs."

In accordance with this vote, the deputies at Boston passed an act incorporating Westfield, and authorized Springfield to appoint a committee for determining the bounds of Westfield. In the returns of this committee occurs this statement: "And the ledge of mountains is to be the bounds between Springfield and Westfield."

Six years only after the incorporation of Westfield, the terror of King Philip's war fell upon the colonies. The fury of the savages, the flaming dwellings, the blood, the devastated fields and villages, we cannot recount, nor can we imagine the dread of utter extermination that weighed upon the hearts of the brave settlers in Western Massachusetts. The Indians so far accomplished their purpose during the first year of the war that in this valley the goodly settlements of Deerfield and Northfield were abandoned. The ruins of fire-swept villages showed what other settlements might expect. Troops for defense of the river towns could not be obtained.

The council at Boston planned to concentrate the settlement in the Connecticut valley by having all make their home in Springfield and Hadley. This plan was proposed to Westfield and other towns in a letter dated March 26, 1676, from Secretary Rawson to Major Savage, then commander of the Massachusetts forces. A letter of like import had been already addressed to Major Pynchon at Springfield. Springfield was to make ready to admit the people of Westfield, and the people of Westfield were to move to Springfield. The letters affirmed that there was no other way that seemed feasible:

"But to come all together in some convenient place in the town (that is Springfield) and take in so large a fort that the proprietors may live in distinct houses or shelters . . . and Westfield must join with you and totally remove to you, for 'tis impossible to hold both towns, the enemy being so many in those parts and our army must remove from them, we are assaulted on every side. . . . Most of our frontiers are away off. Our present work is to secure the principal towns upon the sea coast. We cannot see how your people can remove at present, but must ride it out as best you can; we speak not of particular persons, but of the body of the people; for whither will ye go, or how will ye remove your corn and goods? The like advice have we given for the other towns upon the river to come to Hadley and fortify it well, and there by united strength it may be kept, but otherwise all will be lost according to reason. Suppose the enemy should plant upon your deserted towns; it is hoped when the corn is grown we may have ability to destroy it. We must strengthen the heart. Ammunition is

scarce here. If your people be averse to our advice, we must be necessitated to draw off our forces from them, for we cannot spare them nor supply them with ammunition.

Fortunately this alarmist plan did not convince the Springfield or the Westfield settlers. In civic origin, as well as in settlers, Westfield was a daughter of Springfield; hence it may seem discourteous that she should refuse to return home, but the times were a test of her courage rather than of her courtesy. She had now to risk not only the fury of the savages, but the good will and support of the colonial authority if she refused to abandon her settlement and remove to Springfield. A town meeting was called, and a committee of three, Isaac Phelps, David Ashley and Josiah Dewey, appointed to show reason to the council at Boston why the people of Westfield should not remove to Springfield.

The report of the committee, we are told, was written by Rev. Edward Taylor, a typical minister of the time. He was born in England, studied seven years in one of her universities, and sympathized so strongly with the 2000 dissenting clergymen ejected from their pulpits in 1662, and others persecuted for their faith under the dissolute Charles II., and the high church party, that he preferred exile from England rather than, as Milton puts it, "a blameless silence." For three years after arriving in this country he continued his reading and study at Harvard College until called to his lifelong and congenial work in Westfield, then the westernmost settlement in Massachusetts. Those who some ten years before the outbreak of King Philip's war conducted him from Cambridge to Westfield found their way along a Bay Path by means of marked trees. He was wise, practical and patriotic. Much has been said of the wise and prudent leadership of the colonial clergymen. Much remains to be said.

The reasons urged by the committee for not removing to Springfield were, in brief:

"1. Its unfitness for fortification and its exposure to stealthy onslaught of Indians. 'Its situation lying on both sides of ye Great River Connecticut, whose east side is voyd of habitations, being but a very few left, and those a great distance asunder,—those on ye West side being scattered above a mile up and down, some of which are hid by brambles, and as for its tillage ground ye most being a great distance from ye town and not clear of brush in some places of it and to it, in so much as an indifferent

person cannot but judge (as we suppose) yt ye danger is double in managing field employment, to what ours is.'

2. 'Its (that is Springfield's) unpreparation. It is a place, with grief of heart be it spoken, most of ye east side in ashes, unbuilt and unfortified, unless some few houses.'

3. 'Its Providential Dispensation. It hath been sorely under the blasting hand of God, so that it hath but in a lower degree than ordinary answered ye labor of ye husbandman and sometimes his labor on it is wholly cast away.'

'Now these thoughts are very discouraging unto all thoughts of our removal thither, for to remove from habitations to none, from fortifications to none, from a compact and plain place to scatter'd, from a place of lesse danger in ye field to ye more, from a place under the ordinary Blessing upon our labors to one usually blasted, seems to us such a strange thing that we finde not a man amongst us inclining thereto, wherefore being by ye Honord Council at Hartford upon address for strength from them, yt with their own necessities could not dispense with advised not to desert ye place as yet, we are determined to draw in our out garrison houses, and to contract our fortification into ye compass of about 70 rods long, ye which our thoughts are to fortify strongly, and to keep with fine flankers and for this end our earnest suit is that you would allow us, if it may be, a garrison of thirty soldiers. We are not without hope of gaining some corn for our families as yet.'

'But if you cannot allow any, then our present thoughts are that, if we cannot have a safe convoy from ye town to some place downward, it is judged that we had better abide hère in our own fortification, thus strengthened, and that although we have no help from abroad with respect to our own safety than to go to Springfield.'

'It grieves us that we should object so much against Springfield for ye Worshipful May'r Pynchon's sake, but we judge there is a better way for his safety than this, and although we would do much for his sake, yet we cannot adventure on this ground into such great hazard as appears.'"

This letter of the committee was forwarded to the council in April, 1676. The original is a document of considerable length.

The people of Westfield counted that their action was sanctioned by divine providence, for in the previous October, 1675, Springfield had been attacked by the Indians and most of the houses burned. It was a great advantage to Springfield to have the post of Westfield maintained west of them, and the pluck and endurance of their neighbors must have done much to reinforce their own fortitude and valor.

The people of Northampton also refused to abandon their settlement and move to Hadley. These two settlements, Westfield and Northampton, were the western bulwarks of Springfield and other

towns in this valley. Speaking of the stout stand these towns maintained, Trumbull says:

"A state almost of panic prevailed among the leading men of the colony. Beset on all sides, the authorities knew not which way to turn. Needing their resources for the defense of the eastern towns, they must devise some means by which the valley settlements could take care of themselves. The most feasible method seemed to be that of union for a common defense. Such a concentration and abandonment of towns must have resulted in the entire removal of the English from the valley.

This advice was injudicious and disheartening. Fortunately the proposition found no supporters among those who were most immediately concerned in the suggested movement. Strong, able and voluminous protests were showered upon the council. The authorities had misjudged the spirit of the settlers. They were not ready to give up all that they had toiled so hard and suffered so much to gain. They refused to yield their homes, their land and their household effects to the fury of the savage foe. Such a course, while it would greatly encourage the enemy, and proclaim the panic existing among the English, would also add impetus to the reported designs of the French, as shadowed by the statements of the Indians, that the French intended to drive out the English and recolonize the country."

Speaking of the contest of the French and English for the occupancy of North America,—a contest which would have been precipitated by the success of the followers of King Philip,—but which was 'in no small degree prevented by the strenuous resistance of Westfield men and their fellow colonists in this valley, John Fiske says: "It was for Spain, France and England to contend for the possession of this vast region, and to prove by the result of the struggle which kind of civilization was endowed with the higher and sturdier political life. The race which here should gain the victory was clearly destined hereafter to take the lead in the world, though the rival powers could not in those days fully appreciate this fact."

France, you will remember, once held a larger part of North America than any other nation. Parkman remarks in his volume entitled "Montcalm and Wolfe," "The most momentous and far-reaching question ever brought to issue on this continent was, Shall France remain here or shall she not? If, by diplomacy or war, she had preserved but the half, or less than the half, of her American possessions, then a barrier would have been set to the spread of the English-speaking races; there would have been no Revolutionary War; and for a long time, at least, no independence." "For," as

he explains in another connection, "so long as the French held a good share of the continent and were hostile, as they were bound to be, to the English colonists, these could not break with the mother country," because they would need her help.

Had the settlers of Westfield and Northampton retreated from their outposts, other settlements in the Connecticut valley would have lost heart, and this valley might have been deserted of English settlers, the Indians would have ravaged with increased fury, and the partial or complete success of the plans of Philip would have proved what many Frenchmen hoped it would prove, the preface to the occupancy of the present territory of the United States by the French. Had there been faint-heartedness at these western posts, resulting in inducing the occupancy of the French, the new era in the progress of the race, deserving the gratitude of all peoples under heaven, had not been ushered in by the settlers of New England. There are other Thermopylæ and other Marathons than those that have honored the soil of Greece.

It would be interesting to trace the influence of the Westfield Academy. It was the fourth academy incorporated in Massachusetts; the three earlier academies were in the eastern part of Massachusetts. When its first building was dedicated, January 1, 1800, the colleges that honor Western Massachusetts, with the exception of Williams College, then in its infancy, were not dreamed of. In offering opportunities for pursuing studies beyond those of the district school, it was the precursor, if we except Williams College, of all the academies, high schools and colleges of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire Counties. This academy gave new impetus to the intellectual and social life of the towns within its domain. It opened in this valley a new era in the education of women. In this school, if nowhere else, brothers and sisters could together go on in their studies to the doors of the college. Lifelong friendships and sometimes lifelong unions were some of the results of youth from Springfield and Westfield and other towns gathering in this school. It did much to broaden the sympathies and weld into one community of interests residents of different towns.

Gen. William Shepard, a son of Westfield, rendered eminent

service to the State and the Nation and special service to Springfield. Before speaking of this special service, let us glance at his career. If someone had noted and transmitted to us the toils, the privations, the patriotic endeavor and the well-earned victories of this hero, what a stirring account would be ours. We have only the bare outline of his life. He was born in 1737, a farmer boy. He enlisted as a private at the age of 17 to defend his country against the incursions of the French and Indians. He served in this war for six years, at times under Abercrombie and again under Amherst, and during the first three years rose by promotions to the position of captain. At the close of this war he returned to Westfield, where he married at the age of 23, and resumed for thirteen years the quiet life of a farmer.

As the cloud of the war of Independence was gathering, Captain Shepard was one of the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Westfield. In 1775 he was summoned as lieutenant-colonel to Cambridge, and served there under Washington until the British evacuated Boston. The next year he was made colonel and coöperated with Washington in the movements and battles of the Middle and Southern States. It is said that with a few hundred men he was detailed to check the advance of the British, while Washington drew off his troupes from Long Island. A little later, when our troops evacuated New York, Colonel Shepard was again in the rearguard to hinder the British from landing. When wounded through the neck by a bullet he called for his canteen, and finding that his throat was not severed, he rudely bandaged his neck and pushed on. In a few weeks his wound was healed. Again he was with Washington in the capture of the Hessians at Trenton and at Princeton, at Monmouth and elsewhere. His regiment was detached from the army with Washington, and under Colonel Shepard's command was a part of the army under Gates in the movement against Burgoyne and in his surrender. Later we find him in command of a brigade under Lafayette. When peace was declared in 1783 he had served continuously in two terrible wars and had fought in 22 battles.

General Shepard returned to his fields a poor man, to wrest from the soil by the labor of his hands the necessities of life for himself

and for his family. Soon after peace was declared, he was elected by his townsmen to represent them in the State Legislature. Then for four years he was a member of the State Senate, and for six years of the Governor's council. In 1797 he was elected representative to Congress by the votes, I suppose, of Springfield, Westfield and other towns. He was our representative in Congress six years. In 1796 he was chosen by the Governor and council of Massachusetts to treat with the Penobscot Indians respecting the purchase of lands, and while representative in Congress was selected by the national government to treat with the Six Nations.

At the age of 66, worn by the privations and toils of his arduous years, declining health admonished him to lay aside public duties save those he could discharge for his townsmen while remaining at home. He still led in the councils of the town, and as deacon in the church stayed up the hands of the minister. He died at the age of 80. It is said that "in all the temptations of the camp, he, through the grace of God, kept himself pure," and that "few if any officers of his rank shared more largely in the confidence of Washington." While making his triumphal tour in the Eastern States some six years after the war, Washington writes in his diary, October 21, 1789, that he reached Springfield in mid-afternoon, and while waiting for dinner inspected the continental stores at the arsenal, and adds: "Col. Worthington, Col. Williams, adjutant-general of Massachusetts, Gen. Shepard, Mr. Lyman and many other gentlemen sat an hour or two with me at Parsons' tavern, where I lodged and which is a good house." Would that someone had reported the conversation.

General Shepard especially secured the interests of Springfield while acting for the State, and also under the authority of the secretary of war. It was in the midst of that miserable episode in our history, known as Shays' Rebellion, when the very existence of our body politic was threatened. Learning that the insurgents were about to concentrate in this valley and gain possession of the arsenal, Governor Bowdoin ordered the Hampshire quota to assemble here in Springfield. General Shepard was placed in command. His long patriotic service, his military skill and his sound judgment were

needed in this difficult and delicate emergency. His impressive bearing befitted one evidently born to command, and to secure the obedience even of those of halting purpose. General Shepard put his forces in position to defend the arsenal.

On the evening of the 24th of December, 1786, Luke Day, one of the leaders of the rebellion, was at West Springfield, with a force of 400 in camp. The river was well bridged with ice, so that his forces could readily cross as soon as the main body of the insurgent forces under Shays should reach Springfield. Parsons, from Berkshire, was at what is now Chicopee, at the head of a similar force. Shays, with a force in numbers considerably larger than that under General Shepard, marching from the eastern part of the State, had reached Wilbraham. Fearing fire and pillage and other forms of violence, the inhabitants of Wilbraham for the most part had secured their valuables as best they could and fled the town. The insurgents were capturing men beyond the protection of General Shepard's forces and plundering their dwellings. There were not wanting men among them trained in the vices of camp life and intimate with the basest designs. Shays' troops were so far in advance of General Lincoln, the leader of the loyal troops from Roxbury, that, on the next day, before General Lincoln could reinforce General Shepard, Shays was in Springfield with his forces in battle array, facing the ranks of the defenders of the arsenal.

The patience and forbearance of General Shepard in that encounter show his unwillingness to open the tragedy of battle. All efforts to persuade the insurgents, all his attempts to avoid bloodshed, were useless. The insurgents were confident of success; they would have the arsenal with all its stores. As Bonaparte, by a single discharge of artillery in the streets of Paris put an end to the French Revolution (October 5, 1795), so General Shepard by one well-directed fire scattered the insurgents and broke the rebellion. Springfield was saved from the revelry of a mob, good government was restored, and the honor of the State and of the Nation was vindicated.

As one from some spot of wider vision looks out upon the embowered homes, the marts of traffic and the comely public buildings of this goodly city, recalls what General Shepard here accomplished

and inquires for his monument, the reply may be made which you find upon the slab that in the crypt of St. Paul's at London marks the resting-place of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect,—“Do you seek his monument? Look around you.”

JANUARY 28, 1903. Quarterly meeting. Paper on the *American Indian* read by Rev. Dr. BENJAMIN D. HAHN and an exhibit by the Society of Indian relics and historical papers.

Rev. Dr. B. D. HAHN's paper:

The American Indian

RIGHT royal head-splitter! supreme over all that roam the woods, the plains or the barrens, his like has not been discovered since our own barbarous ancestors wiped the mud from their sandals and the blood from their swords in the forum at Rome. Adventure and exploration have searched every shore and traversed every solitude. We have become acquainted with naked barbarism of every tint and with the savagery of the Congo and of Polynesia, but for prowess, cunning and fury there is no rival for our Sioux, Nez Percés, Pawnees, Apaches or Omahas. Tall, sinewy, deep-chested and broad-shouldered, with delicate hands and feet, the Sheiks of Arabia are discredited by the impoting personalities, the craft and exploits of King Philip, Tecumseh, Black Hawk, Gall, Crazy Horse and Joseph.

The countenance of the Indian is at once heavy and expressive. The skull broad-based and high, the wild eye, bright and piercing as the glance of madness, countersunk in mighty orbits above massive cheek bones, the jaw square and ponderous, the mouth wide and full and the nose of more than Roman height, sweep and breadth make up a countenance which is now a mask of clay and which now again can look the menace of a reptile. This is the horror of the woods, the demon of the settlements. In him anger was ire, his loves were as heat lightning, his resentments burned like anthracite. Woodcraft was his liberal education and war his supreme pursuit. From the time when the thongs of his baby basket were loosed until he was felled by arrow or tomahawk he was inured to bloodshed and hardship. In the arts of torment he could learn little from Spanish priests. He had the endurance of the Stoic. He was a fiend in reprisal. He had the senses of an animal, and a

persistence that never flagged. He was an enemy elusive and traceless as a shadow for whom our fathers watched the woods while they hoed or chopped in the clearing, or lay awake in the night listening for his intermittent war shriek. To pursue him was like hunting down rumors; to confront him was like fighting demons. This is the reputation of the prince of savages, bedaubed, befeathered; now grave, imperturbable, immovable by any pang; now frantic and inspired with diabolical cunning. Certainly, according to this traditional representation, the American Indian is an interesting and picturesque character. Here is a high-tension man. Here is disposition fascinating if malign. This raw material of manhood is promising because of its intensity of passion and strength of purpose. It is my intention to supplement rather than abate this traditional sentiment concerning his character.

When we remember the desperate situation of the American colonists we lose our relish for the witticism of the brilliant man of letters, "Our fathers first fell upon their knees, and then upon the aborigines." The colonists were between the sea and the woods. No settlement was secure. An invisible foe haunted their journeys. The superstitious had no need of ghosts where there was an Indian, who had the cloak of invisibility, and was shod with silence. The suspicion of his presence deepened the shadows of the forests and smote the air with a chill. He was a hound for instinct, a panther for stealth and ferocity, and superhuman in his dedication to the law of blood vengeance. They saw him at Deerfield in the lurid glow of conflagration and massacre, the agent of the Roman propaganda. They met him as the hunting pack of the British invasion, and the vulture of defeat. The fear of the gauntlet and the torture-post was ever upon them, yet they forbore to retaliate in kind. It remained for their censorious descendants to revive these savage usages for the persecution of the helpless Negro. The African, the Australian and the Polynesian know how hardly enlightened nations deal with barbarians; but the stand of the American Indian against superior arms, arts and numbers is one of the marvels of history. Civilization shall not encounter his like again.

The ability of these barbarous warriors is abundantly illustrated

in the many campaigns and battles of our history. I shall confine myself to two examples of their courage and address. Savage brutality and cunning were outdone by the feats of the renegade Navajos, the Apaches. From the barren fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Mountains they swept down upon the ranches and settlements to rob, burn, mutilate and slay. It was impossible to overtake and punish human lizards, who knew every rock and gorge, every patch of green, every bush and waterhole of the sunburnt range. They hid in crevices or lay out on the naked cliffs in full view, but indistinguishable. They climbed along the dizzy precipices and hid among the peaks. Only by the assistance of the friendly members of the tribe were they brought to bay after a chase of 3000 miles, when Geronimo surrendered to General Lawton. During the pursuit of these wily savages a convoy of provisions was sent across the Mojave desert under military escort. Behind them stretched the plain, but for little tufts of bunch grass, bare as a table to the horizon. In the confidence begotten of an unobstructed survey of the desert, the escort rode far ahead of the wagon train. Some sound or chance look backward brought them up suddenly. They saw the train in disorder, the drivers killed and a horde of Apaches looting the wagons.

After the capture of Geronimo, Lieutenant Schwatka, who was in the desert with an Apache guide, asked him to explain the mystery of that ambush. The Indian requested the officer to turn his back for a moment. Now it is something else than a sense of propriety which leads the bravest man to hesitate about turning his back upon a wild Apache. In spite of strong misgivings the Lieutenant complied. Presently he heard a low whistle and turned about, but his guide had gone up into the firmament, or down into the earth or he had melted into air. The Lieutenant scrutinized the ground, studied each little tuft of grass, but the Apache could not be found. When he was convinced that he must give up the undertaking, his guide rose out of the ground a few feet away. In that moment the Apache had covered himself with the desert dust. He told Schwatka that his people knew that the train was coming over the trail. They lay down on either side of it, covered themselves with dust, tied

wisps of bunch-grass in their hair, and with their arrows spread out waited while the escort passed within a few yards, and, when the wagon train arrived, leaped up to the attack.

If the Apache is the worst, the Sioux is among the noblest representatives of the race in person and character. You remember the result of the first attempt of our government to conquer this brave nation. Custer had been "wiped out" on the Little Big-horn, and General Crooks, fresh from victory over the Apaches, was ordered to move against the new enemy. His scouts assured him that the fighting would be severe, that the new foe would make a stand, and that Sioux would not hesitate to rush a battle-line. If the General was sceptical, he soon found demonstration when he came to close with Oglallah and Brule Sioux and their allies. Gall and Crazy Horse and Spotted Tail were commanders of different temper from Geronimo, and their following were all too ready to force the issue. The scouts hurried to the General and said, "General Crooks, you are licked; you must pull out to save the army." He had fought all kinds of Indians. Were his experienced troops to give way at last to barbarians? Again the scouts entreated, but disaster was evidently at hand. He withdrew. Chief Half Moon reports 36 killed. Our own loss was 366. It was a just tribute to the Indians and worthy of General Crooks to say it, that the Sioux were the best soldiers on earth.

These incidents but intensify the traditional and popular estimate of the character of the American Indian. Moreover, since the horse has lightened the task of the Indian hunter, we are eloquent over the laziness of the men and the drudgery of the squaws. Before the Spaniard brought the horse, the hunt was severe and constant. The labors of the men matched the drudgery of the women. A visit to the reservations and acquaintance with the crushed and dispirited creatures of our greed is sufficient to prove to a lady-like judgment that the Indian is by nature dirty, shiftless and worthless. Man is a pitiful spectacle when the theater of his energy and aspirations is destroyed. There is always ground for slander in the discouragement of the unfortunate. It is bitter irony, however, on the lips which are prosperous by our adversities. No intense

nature is all hate and resentment. No race of villains was ever born. There are deeds of love and self-sacrifice almost incredible performed by these warlike Sioux; there are friendships as firm as any their white oppressors can boast. They have been something nobler than the defiled wards of a rapacious civilization, or the foil and incident of our peculiar and striking history, or the incarnate spirit of vengeance of our fancy and proverbs, or the lithe, bronze torso which appeals to the artist and founder.

The Indian is the inventor of arts, a social order and a culture all his own. In him civilization arose anew. It was indigenous, separated by impassable seas from the mainland of the experience and usage of the world. It was self-determined. It had its beginnings, its territory and the centuries to itself, and it was in full career when the continent was discovered. As we turn from the northern plains and woods of our nomad tribes toward the southwest, the signs of civilization are progressive. In the high rifts and crevices of the sombre canyons, perched like nests of the barn swallow, are clustered the stone cells of unknown or conjectured tribes. Among the mesas are the communities of the Hopi, Moqui and Zuni. Their houses are built in terraces along slopes or disposed about a central plaza like stacked packing boxes. One ruined city with streets and waterways, in a plain trenched with abandoned canals is the melancholy monument of a civilization arrested by the blight of civil war, pestilence or invasion. But across the line we find the remains of a more general order and defined control. We are confronted by the state. The communal towns give place to the empire of the Montezumas.

Finished stonework is the monument of a settled social condition. The mason is the product of the political compress. Necessity, permanent aims, the leisure from war and reprisal which a strong and exacting rule provides must first shape and adapt the people before they attain to the motives and patience to handle such ponderous and intractable material. The monster buildings of Egypt are the record of eternal despotism; miles of exact courses, huge temples, endless tracery, and statuary in high relief are the marks of absolutism in Mexico, Yucatan and Peru. The walls of the fortress

at Cuzco are built of polygonal stones. The rough boulders have been cut so that all faces are fitted together exactly. By great rafts and embankments of earth the Egyptian transported and placed his monoliths, but how the stones at Tia Huanica 36 feet square and five feet thick were managed without draught animals, canals or earthen embankments is a mystery.

The invention of gunpowder revolutionized the art of fortification in Europe. Before that event engineers were content with the height and massiveness of the walls and with occasional towers as a system of defence. What a marvelous design replaced the ancient practice is displayed in the star-shaped plans of Michael Angelo. The essential element of the new art was the salient, a protruding angle to command and enfilade each exposed wall. But the Incas, who had only spears and arrows to resist, adopted the same principle in the fortress at Cuzco. The walls and angles were so disposed that every curtain wall was commanded by an angle.

In architecture the Indian displayed an Egyptian love of immensity. The Babylonian devotee founded his temple upon an artificial hill; in America, the worshipper found the eminence ready to his hand. He shaped it into a pedestal for the teocalli or house of God. The resemblance between the Chaldean ziggurat or temple tower and the teocalli has convinced many students that there must have been some connection between the two civilizations. Many of these structures rise in five or seven stages or terraces. The stages are connected by ramps or inclined planes, or access to the platform above is secured by a single flight of steps from bottom to top. If there is any connection between the architecture of the two hemispheres, the Indian varied and improved upon the model. The terraces of the pyramid of the temple of Palenque are so many that they convert the faces of the slope into stairs. At Oaxaca the faces of the pyramid are smooth. Near the top, they become perpendicular and are ribbed with three transverse, projecting courses of stonework which have the effect of a cornice. A wide stairway ascends in a shallow groove in the middle of each face. For simplicity, proportion and design this pyramid stands in glorious contrast to the clumsy bulk and rude ornament of the Babylonian towers.

If the principles of construction of stage towers were not simple and obvious it might appear more reasonable to seek the origin of American art in Asia rather than to suppose that the American Indian discovered the beginning of his art by his own ingenuity. But since necessity almost thrust the device upon him, it is a long-distance conjecture to find the American pyramid in Asia. Moreover the Indian has exhibited the better taste and greater fertility of design. His improvements are more ingenious than the invention, and nowhere does he reproduce the buttressed and panelled decoration of the Oriental temple.

The temple buildings upon the platforms raise no question of origin. They are unique. It is in Yucatan that the stepped pyramid replaces the terraced pyramid of Mexico, and one of the remaining buildings on the esplanade of Palenque will serve to illustrate the character of the Indian's varied architecture. This remaining building is 76 feet long and 25 feet wide. It is divided throughout its length by a middle partition wall. It is covered by an "A" vault. The courses of stone on either side are overlapped until they meet in the apex. The outer room is an open corridor with six massive pillars along the front. Above the pillars is a cornice; above the cornice a broad frieze; above the frieze the roof proper slopes up to the ridge. At intervals upon the cornice are set pedestals for images, which must have been important decorations against the background of the frieze. But singular among the devices of architecture is what is called the roof-comb. It was a sheet of stone, set up on edge along the whole roof ridge. In some of the temples two such sheets were set up and inclined until they rested against each other at the top like the sides of the letter A. Upon this double comb as a base another single sheet of stone completed the structure. These roof-combs were pierced with tiers of square openings. They appeared like stone trellises upon the ridge of the roof. It is supposed that these roof-combs were originally of wood and were devised to exhibit the skulls of the sacrifices.

At Mitla is another ruin for which the much-abused adjective, unique, must be employed. The walls of this little palace, or of what remains of it, one wing of the structure, slope outward to the

roof. What is equally remarkable the stones are cut into panels and the panels are filled with frets and forms peculiar among the peculiar decorations of Mexico. Just now Americans are rebuilding the country. The rapid growth of cities and institutions and the amazing wealth of the people have laid unusual responsibilities upon our architects. Egyptian, Greek, Gothic, Romanesque, Moorish, Italian, Spanish,—almost every style of construction, but American, has been employed to furnish forms and principles of art to meet the demands of taste and public service, while our own continent has innumerable examples of an art indigenous and peculiar.

But particular buildings must claim our attention no longer. The Indian differs from other primitive artists in that he was not enslaved by tradition and precedent. The Chaldean and Egyptian artist consecrated the type and rigorously adhered to one model, but the inventive Indian devised different and definite styles of architecture. The buildings of Mexico, Guatemala, Yucatan and Peru embody different principles of art. In Peru we find the characteristics of Etruscan architecture. The famous House of the Virgins of the Sun has the same sloping moulded jambs, crowned with a lintel, the ends of which are stepped or chamfered. Here again is an opportunity for speculation to refer their art to European influence, but Etruscan art is ancient and was buried long before the Indian began to build. Among the ruins of Tia Huanican stands a gateway cut through a single stone 13 feet long and 10 feet high. The opening is rectangular. It is not moulded or recessed. Only the upper part, the lintel, is ornamented. This entire surface is covered with hieroglyphs which divide it into a checkerboard. In the center and near the upper edge is cut a mask in high relief. In the same neighborhood is another monolith gate, recessed and moulded after one of our common patterns. But how the Aymaras, to whom this art is ascribed, were influenced by our practice is a question for those antiquarians to discuss who are forever discovering European influence in Indian art.

As decorators who could cut jade with the nicety and finish of our own lapidaries, Aztecs and Mayas were as inventive of ornament as they were fertile in principles of construction. Meanders, keyes,

frets, scrolls, diapers and grills cover the wall surfaces. They cut deep and brought out the tangle of patterns in high relief. They completed the decoration with serpent heads, shrieking like gargoyles, and grimacing masks, ugly as Polynesian idols. The art is not bold; it is frantic. Its gamut is the vehement, fantastic and the grotesque. It is both morbid and furious. The temples have a charnal smell. The decoration fits the worship. Nowhere was Molech so riotously served. Cannibalism and human sacrifices and this style of ornament are the signs of the temper of the artists. Ten thousand human victims were sacrificed at one coronation festival in Mexico. It was divine justice which swept away the civilization of the Aztecs. "The things which the gentiles sacrifice they sacrifice to demons and not to God."

The Egyptian sculptor was hampered by the rules of his art. It was subject to architecture and tradition. But the stone is plastic to the Indian artist. In his more ambitious works he is able to give ease and variety of pose to the form. His figures stand, walk, sit and squat; they adore, cower or command as he will. The Egyptian face is formal and conventionalized; the Indian sculptor dares to render individuality and expression. Mr. Tobert Maler has discovered a colossal statue of Quetzalcoatl at Yaxchilan in Guatamala. The figure is seated in Oriental fashion. The oblique eyes are closed. The round face is grave as that of Buddha. This statue is interesting but not for the excellence of the sculpture. The pose, the closed oblique eyes, the inexpressive countenance, suggest the influence of the art of Cochin China. But the resemblance may be but a coincidence among a multitude of various forms. The headdress, breastplate, medallions and masks which ornament the idol are certainly American. The sitting pose is common to the two continents. The gravity of the countenance of Buddha is due to the inexperience and lack of skill of the Asiatic sculptor rather than to intelligent design. The closed eyes are not peculiar to this figure. But while almost all the elements of the image can be accounted for from Indian practice, the resemblance to the statues of Buddha must still impress the student and disturb his confidence in the independence of Indian sculpture. But a similar process of reasoning,

by a comparison of the faces of Indian gods and Caciques with the Egyptian portraits of Hittite kings, would enable us to detect Egyptian influences in prehistoric America.

Can it be that the patient stonecutters and artists of Uxmal, Palenque, Mitla and Yaxchilan are of the same race as the intense and passionate Indians of our colonial history? Toil and subjection were the principal conditions of the social order which created these monuments, but the Indian we know is fiery and intractable. It was a mighty polity which held the Aztec or Toltec to his task and subdued him under authority. A stupid or amiable people cannot support a great civilization. There are no negative virtues. Charity begins in self-denial. Patience is not geniality or indifference. It is not moral inertia. It is not rest, but action. It is the poise of the "sleeping" top. The ox is a poor emblem of patience. Patience is purposeful restraint, instructed passion. The most ferocious and blood-thirsty of beasts is the most patient; he has the most passion to control and the greatest power of restraint.

The lord of the jungle lies at ease by the watercourse where the ground is pitted with the hoof-prints of his prey. Loose, soft, sinewless and boneless he seems. He is the image of heedless repose, yet he is attentive and hungry. When the sun is low and the forest grows loud he has gathered his legs under him and, but for the occasional cock of an ear, he is motionless as a sphinx. For a thousand yards he hears the rustle of a leaf, the snap of a twig, the tread of a hoof. There is a famine in his belly; there is blood-lust in his heart. The sun is down. He has risen. His yellow orbs are black. The great shoulder slips under the loose hide as he advances a cautious paw. Ears, muzzle and neck are extended in eager watchfulness, and his chest, swung low between his shoulders, almost touches the ground. Softly he gathers his feet into a pedestal. His striped forehead writhes like a nest of worms. Twitches in his fur shoot down his back. Alternating currents of frenzy sweep his brain and tremors shake his tense bulk. Slowly as by a draw-string the ears are pulled hard back, the lips skinned back from the red gums, the muzzle crumpled. Quivering, trembling, rocking under the mighty and accumulating fury he poises a moment. There is a rustle and

a tread in the path before him. Instantly rage and hunger, the whole terrific pent energy is released in one tremendous, lightning leap. There is a scream, a flash of the armed mitten, a blow. Growling, glancing and lashing he stands with triumphant paws upon the limp carcass of the bull. If he had less passion, he would lack power; if he had no control, he might hunger and yearn and hunt the jungle in vain.

It was the elevation of his desires and their multiplication which subjected the Indian to a rigid social order, and it was the intensity of his temperament which so quickly developed his primitive art. What he was as artist and workman is apparent in other pursuits. He makes his contribution to the inventions of the savage armory along with the Australian boomerang and weet weet. The pocuno, or blow gun of the South American tribes, is a weapon which gives them the insidious and fatal power of the serpent. It is composed of two tubes. The outer tube of bamboo serves as a protection against heat and moisture, warping and checking. The inner tube is made from a straight, nodeless reed and when the pith is removed the bore is as true and finished as that of a rifle. The inner tube fits loosely in the bamboo case and is bushed to position. The missile is a bamboo sliver, the point smeared with woorari poison. The Indian takes a little wad of vegetable wool, wraps it around the tiny bolt, inserts it in the breach of the pocuno and is prepared with a smokeless, noiseless weapon to deal out sudden death with a pinprick.

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob dwelt in tents. They feared the storm which might pluck up their tent-pins. They had many a watery eye when they had no griefs worth mention and no mood of penitence for sins. Smoke is the nuisance which other nomads could not abate. But the picturesque tepee has solved the problem with its central vent and its smoke-flaps turned quartering to the wind, and it will stand when a hurricane is rushing whole villages of framed dwellings.

The signal service of the plains enabled the various bands and tribes to act in concert. A war party would build a slow fire of grass and sticks upon an eminence and cover it with a robe of

buffalo skins. Any escaping tresses of smoke were fanned to prevent detection by troops or emigrant trains. Then the corners of one end were seized and the robe was cast off and returned with a double sweep. A balloon of smoke rose into the sky. By this device they telegraphed the number and position of the enemy, the time and place of attack and general instructions for their allies. At night fire-arrows were substituted for smoke signals. The villages of Africa communicate with drums of hollowed logs or of gourds and ivory horns. The great drum, made of python skins, served the same purpose for the ancient city of Mexico. The heliograph in the clear atmosphere of the Southwest has transmitted the messages of the Morse code over a distance of 70 miles. The Indian anticipated that invention. His fathers had used polished shells and wet stones for the same purpose. It was but a trick to spit on a stone and express your sentiments in the next county.

The imperfect languages of barbarians must be helped by gesture. A course in gymnastics is the foundation of eloquence in Africa. There is a "running commentary of pantomime" in every conversation. The Indian separated the gesture from the oral element and created an art of general intercourse. By this sign language, invented by Kiowas, a Cheyenne can tell all his mind to an Assiniboine. A Crow meets a Shoshone. He holds his hands before him with fingers separated, palms toward himself and brings them together in token of friendship. With both index fingers he traces a double scroll in the air above his head (cloudy weather), brings his hands before him, palms down, fingers separated, with short downward thrusts (it was raining); presents both palms, fingers spread (10); first finger and thumb drawn across the throat (cutthroats, i. e. Dakotas); first and second fingers of right hand astride index of left (mounted); palm of right hand rubbed over palm of left from wrist to tip (wiped them out); motion reversed, from tip toward wrist (they wiped us out). A circle made by the thumb and index finger and held toward the sky means the sun; the angle of the arm and the direction east or west indicates the time. The index finger in the mouth obviously means papoose. The index finger held before him like a hook and drawn backward toward his breast is the worst imputation he can think of; it means retreat or coward.

Surgery is an art that no patient lightly invokes. Among primitive peoples it is a desperate ordeal. I remember a rude woodcut which represents the operation of trephining the skull as practiced in the Middle Ages. The patient, or victim, lies upon a bench, pinioned by several attendants while the surgeon proceeds upon the skull with mallet and chisel. Personally speaking, I should prefer a steam drill. This is an operation often performed among primitive peoples. It is said that few male South Sea Islanders have escaped this operation. The skulls of Peruvian mummies show that surgery was an extensive and, we presume, lucrative profession. With a stone spearhead or an obsidian knife the swarthy surgeon sawed or scraped a kerf in the skull. Then he made another at an angle with the first and, proceeding in this fashion, he at last cut out a button of bone. If there was a depression of the plates of the skull, he pried them up. He removed splinters and fragments and probably covered the wound with a plate. In the South Seas they use a cocoanut shell. What is most remarkable, and strong evidence of the proverbial vitality of the Indian, are the granulations about the opening, which show that the operation was a success and the patient survived.

I have no intention of promoting the interests of the traveling medicine man who claims to cure asthma, bronchitis and biliousness, coughs, colds, catarrh, consumption and all affections of the spleen, liver and kidneys,—especially Bright's disease and malignant growths,—with one bottle of his celebrated Indian compound. The desperation of chronic invalids is a subject for compassion and careful admonition, not for encouragement, least of all for jest. It is a fact, however, that some medicine men of the South American tribes know a remedy for the poison of serpents. An American who for a time was a guest upon a Spanish plantation in Colombia was bitten by a tree snake. He had saved the lives of some Indians at great risk to himself. For that reason his host, a Spaniard, was able to induce an eminent medicine man to treat him. The Indian gave him a nauseous draught; wrapped him in blankets; placed heated stones about him; bared the patient's arm and, with a thorn, pricked the skin while he moistened the wound he had made with some of

the same decoction which he had administered as a draught. The patient fell asleep, and when, after some hours, he awoke, he felt no discomfort from either the poison or the remedy.

The method of administration of the remedy is as interesting as the cure. Should anyone in this audience become faint, lose consciousness, sink down upon the floor, the face colorless, the mouth open, breathing with a deep snore, some physician here would quickly take out a little case containing a hypodermic syringe and inject under the skin of the sufferer strychnine and nitro-glycerine. That little syringe is one of the most valuable instruments of the profession. Drugs can be administered in emergencies when every other method would be vain. The effect is also more quick and potent. But hypodermic injections have been administered before there was a medical art. The needle was a lethal weapon. The fang is such a needle. It is a folded tooth. In Oriental vipers the seam or suture is still traceable. In our rattlesnakes it is a perfect seamless tube, with the further improvement that it can be folded back into a pocket of the mucous membrane. The poisoned arrow or bolt of the pocuno is an application of the same deadly principle. In the case which I have just cited the medicine man understood the advantage of the hypodermic administration of drugs. In our own practice it is a late discovery which is regarded as an important advance in therapeutics.

No art reveals the character of a people as it is exhibited in their literature. Literature? Yes, I mean it. It is the chief fallacy of modern critics of primitive literature that they fail to realize that there is literature, vast and various, before there is any record of it. Myths, poems, lore and annals have been faithfully transmitted for generations without manuscripts. The multitude of Indian songs, and their peculiar music, which have surprised and awakened the admiration of our musicians, is now being recorded. But it began, grew and has been retained in all its variety in the hearts and memories of the people. Skald, Troubadour, Persian story-teller, the priest, were the living and trustworthy repositories of their several traditions. The Vedas and the Iliad were held in memory entire. I know forty-six persons who could repeat the entire epistle to the

Romans verbatim. The majority protested that the task was impossible for them and there were few who were not sceptical. Had they been officially appointed to retain and transmit that epistle, it could have been preserved unchanged for all generations. The susceptible, intense Indian also has his oral, traditional literature. The Babylonian tablets so eagerly sought and diligently studied fascinate us by their antiquity. As literature they are overestimated. The narrative is tardy, wandering and halting; the descriptions meagre; the thought is neither acute nor profound. There is much in Indian literature also that is tedious and obscure, but the only example of their genius which I may employ will convince you that they are the peers of any primitive people. The progress of narrative is forthright and constant; the descriptions are clear, apt and forcible; the figures novel and vivid. Like their music and unlike their decoration, the literature breathes the spirit of tenderness, sympathy and melancholy. Perhaps if we could decipher the literature of the Aztecs and Toltecs who built and decorated the temples we should find that they wrote in a different strain from that of the Pueblo Indians.

The verdict of musicians is that the Indians are consummate masters of musical rhythm, but prosody is as difficult an art. The early forms of Anglo-Saxon, Gealic and Hindu poetry teach us what genius and skill are required in the invention of settled poetic forms. Homer, Æschylus and Pindar belong to the people who built the Parthenon and the Choragic monument, but these makers of hives of mud and stone do violence to our sense of proportion when they cast their traditions in epic moulds. The mastery of line, accent and tone of the Zuni Creation Myths is worthy of the novel and dignified substance of the poem. I proceed to give you a spoiled and condensed resume of the Gestation of Man and the Creations. Understand that the world beneath us is divided into four caves. Men have two leaders and helpers who are accounted for in the myth. "In the nethermost of the four caves the seed of men and the creatures took form and increased, as in eggs in warm places worms speedily appear, burst their shells and become birds, tadpoles or serpents." This cave "was black as a chimney at night, foul too as the internals

of the belly." "Everywhere are unfinished creatures, crawling over each other in filth and darkness like reptiles." The Beloved Twain breathe upon the grasses and crawling vines of the depths to make them grow and twist them upward that they may serve as ladders to ascend into the second cave world. This second cave "is dark as the night of a stormy season, but larger and higher than the first because nearer to the navel of the earth-mother." Here again men and the beings increased, "and the clamor of their complainings grew loud and beseeching." Again the Two augment the growth of the great ladder and guide the people upward, "to become in time the fathers of the six kinds of men." The third cave-world is still larger and higher and it is lighter, "like a valley in starlight." Here the various beings "begin to multiply apart in kind one from another." When this cave is overfilled they are led forth into the last world-cave "where it is light like the dawning and men began to perceive and learn variously according to their natures." Yet like other cave-worlds this became filled with progeny; and finally the Two at periods led forth the nations of men and the kinds of beings into this great upper world. "Eight years made the span of four days and four nights when the world was new." They were led forth in the night, "for when they saw the morning star they thought it the sun, so burned it their eyeballs." "Men and creatures were nearer alike then than now: black were our fathers the late born of creation, like the caves from which they came forth; cold and scaly their skins, like those of mud creatures; goggled their eyes, like those of the owl; webbed their feet, like those walkers in wet and soft places; and according as they were elder or younger they had tails longer or shorter. They crouched when they walked . . . as beforetime they had done in their cave-worlds. . . . When the morning star arose they blinked excessively as they beheld its brightness, and cried out with many mouth-motionings that surely now the Father was coming, but it was only the elder of the Bright Ones gone before with elder nations, and with his shield of flame, heralding from afar (as we herald with wet shell-scales or crystals) the approach of the Sun-Father. And when low down in the east the Sun-Father himself appeared, what, though shrouded in the midst of the great world-waters,

they were so blinded and heated by his light and glory that they cried out to one another in anguish, and fell down wallowing, and covering their eyes with their bare hands and arms." Finally they become accustomed to the light and heat; they walk upon their hinder feet, and the world becomes dry and firm.

This quotation is enough to show how complex and sustained is the thought of these evolutionists. The representations are original and consistent; the imagery is vivid and precise. It also makes plain another fact, namely, that the Zuni Creation Myths rival the Chaldean Creation Epic as a literary composition.

The deeper we penetrate the more we are compelled to admire. Again we must be content with a single instance, but it is the most important and the best. It was a prodigious feat of the primitive mind to go back to the beginning of things. It is a tremendous generalization to consider the origin of matter. Hindu, Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian were alike unable to grasp the subject. Only in the culmination of Greek thought was the idea discussed by the pagan mind. The Sia Indians approached it in their myth of a pre-existent spider. This is but myth and an arbitrary step in a picturesque story. But the Zuni proceeds with ease and decision beyond matter, to a spiritual, personal and eternal Being. With the skill and care of the highest abstract method he fixes and defines the Author of time and matter. "Before the beginning of the new-making Awonawilona solely had being. There was nothing else whatever through the vast space of the ages, save only everywhere void desolation and everywhere black darkness in it." So strong has been the presumption of learned men against the ability of primitive or ancient peoples to conceive of a time when matter was not or to proceed in thought from nothing to something, the supreme leap of the mind, that they arbitrarily insist that the idea is not the right interpretation of the first verse of the book of Genesis. That the primitive mind was able to assume that difficult position in thought is demonstrated by the Zuni Creation Myths.

By the quotation I have just made we pass from philosophy to religion. I must remind you that there is one well-established link between the thought of the Old World and Indian tradition, that is,

the story of the Deluge. Tezpi and the animals are saved by an ark. Among the variations of the two traditions the vulture replaces the raven, and Huitzitzilin, the swiftest, smallest, supreme and most brilliant of birds, the humming bird, supplants the dove. Grand, Worthy Patriarch of the secret order of clairvoyants and necromancers, prince of those who have discovered other powers in substantial forms than their natural properties, relations of things other than those of material causation, who have heard whispers across the boundaries of the visible, and who "can call spirits from the vasty deep," I salute you with emotion! Your cult is old and world-wide; your dwelling is where reality and superstition touch finger tips; where sincerity and fraud lock arms. You were the terror of the settlements; you are now the enigma of the schools. Compté, Spencer and a cloud of erudite witnesses have discovered the inevitable path of progress of the religious mind from fetishism, animism, ancestor-worship or ghosts to demon-worship, polytheism, monotheism and agnosticism. It is a fine workmanlike arrangement and it presents a good perspective. It appeals to the orderly mind like a schedule. It is possible that its order is its chief argument. But facts do not exist for tables, orders or schedules. Evidences of primitive monotheism in the religions of Babylonia, Egypt, China and Hindustan compel us to question this programme of religious progress, and the faith of the Indian tribes will not yield to the arrangement. You know Manitou and the Great Spirit. Tusiware is His name among the Pawnees. He is the Great Mystery of the Sioux. Side by side with this monotheism we find fetishism, animism, soothsaying and necromancy. Aztec and Toltec, far on the road of social progress beyond the more primitive condition of the nomad and Pueblo Indians, have a religion of idolatry, polytheism, human sacrifices and cannibalism. Their religious history inverts the perspective announced by our philosophers. The Aztec had a baker's dozen of great gods such as Quetzalcoatl, the beneficent, Huitzilopactli, Tlaloc, the terrible, and Chacmool, the god of fire. He had also about two hundred minor divinities. His polytheism and idolatry mark a later stage of belief. Hear the older confession of faith,—*"The God by whom we live," "invisible, incorporeal, one*

God of perfect perfection and purity," "omnipresent, that knoweth all thoughts and giveth all gifts." One of the most important checks upon unbridled scientific classification and dogmatism is the history and archaology of the American tribes.

Cruel, stubborn, susceptible, intense child of nature, who shall make a summary of your qualities or divine the mysteries of your heart and mind! Ample justice has been done to the faith of the wild tribes, Sioux, Kiowas, Omahas. In moments of leisure and profound thought when the myriad impressions of his sensitive nature had time to settle and clarify, his thought took the old thoroughfare of causation back to one, eternal, spiritual, personal cause. He stood with Christian humility in His presence, the child and pensioner of His grace; but when with mask, rattle, feathers and sacred meal he issued from the "kiva" of the priests he was pagan to the heart, magician, idolator, polytheist. The visible world with its forms of being, like the sacred dancers, was masked. The masks are real; these forms are but the sensible moments of beings which have another and more potent existence. Our dull senses survey a few of the properties of things; their more important powers are disclosed in dreams, trances and divination. His narrative dance was propitiatory, I might say compulsory, of divinity. He worships and, by his ritual, he takes advantage of gods and spirits. His mind is divided. His religious thought is monotheism pure and sublime; his religious practice is idolatry and magic. As a devotee he is obsequious, but the Thunderbird must not take his eyes off of him or, by his occult science he may seize the thunderbolt. It was but a step to the limp, Hindu doctrine of Maya, illusion; but he was neither Hindu nor limp. It remained for white Christian science to do that. He was but an inch from idealism and pantheism, but that inch was measured in adamant. As a worshipper is he so different from ourselves? For us the axle of the universe is poised in the holiness of God. All things have place and orbit thereby. But a Captain of industry knows a weakness in divinity. God is good and that fact loosens the bearings of justice. So potent are libraries, laboratories, parks and charitable subscriptions that they dissemble the piracies of corporations. He also appears to bank on a certain

stupidity or fondness in the divine nature. Alms are not to be tested by principles of acquisition. With Dromio of Syracuse we may say of the priest of the Deer or Antelope "kiva"—"Surely thou art my glass and not my brother."

Sun dance, snake dance, fire dance, scalp dance—all the dances are done. The mystical sand paintings have been brushed away. The "kiva" has fallen in. Mask and calumet are in the white man's museum. The tales of the old men about the tepee fire will be repeated to light-haired children in the nursery. It is sublime but terrible to watch by a dying race. A picture is recalled by my fancy. It is the figure of a Sioux woman on a hilltop, standing to her knees in the snow, in the heart of a waste world of marble, against the brassy glare of the West. Only a grove of dark pines is in the foreground. To the shrill winds she lifts her shriller lament for her papoose under the snow. The ghost dance was the last flicker of the hope of a race. By hysteria and trance for one brief hour the Indian enjoyed a millenium. The "happy hunting grounds" came down to earth. A deluge of mud smothered the pale-face and all his works. Old friends and kinsmen greeted each other. The Buffalo had returned to the plains.

King of barbarians! Excellent raw material of manhood! I have endeavored to give some conception of his capacity and force by this hurried survey of his qualities as warrior, workman, artist and inventor, and by abstracts from his literature, of his ideas and beliefs. As a fighting man if he had encountered Polynesians, Australian blacks, Maoris or Malays, he would have ravined like a wolf in a sheep pasture. We may doubt that his civilization gave promise of better things. But what of those finer sentiments of this rude but impulsive man? What of this warrior's love of peace, which he celebrates, for which he aspires in his songs and lore? What of his ideals of truth, purity and honor? What of the fidelities stronger than life and the loves unworn by the long trail? Omission is the more common form of iniquity, and I must plead guilty. Of his future I cannot speak; but we may hope. In conversation with A Ha Tone of the Kiowas, I referred to the Spanish war. A shadow swept his strong face. He said decisively, "It is wrong." He had

left the warpath forever. The wife of Chief Pine Tree held up her hands to the missionary. The first joints of the fingers had been cut off in grief and self-torture. She said, "Each one of these represents a lost child; if you can tell me anything of them—."

With the Indian sign, "Talk all done," I conclude.

FEBRUARY 13, 1903. Adjourned quarterly meeting. New by-laws adopted.

APRIL 29, 1903. Quarterly meeting. Rev. Dr. FRANK L. GOODSPEED introduced Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR of Amherst, who read a paper on the *Colonist and the Indian*. Remarks by Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM on the Indian as seen by him during his service in the army on the plains. An exhibit of Indian relics and historical papers.

JUNE 1, 1903. Annual meeting. Officers elected:

President, WILLIAM F. ADAMS.

Vice-Presidents: JOHN WEST, ANDREW J. FLANAGAN, J. STUART KIRKHAM.

Clerk, HENRY A. BOOTH.

Corresponding Secretary, HENRY A. BOOTH.

Treasurer, WILLIAM C. STONE.

Curator, WILLIAM C. STONE.

Executive Committee: EDWARD A. HALL, FRANK G. TOBEY, ALFRED M. COPENLAND, ALBERT H. KIRKHAM, LEWIS F. CARR, REV. THOMAS D. HOWARD.

OCTOBER 21, 1903. Quarterly meeting. HENRY A. BOOTH read a paper on *Springfield During the Revolution*.

Springfield During the Revolution

IT MIGHT be stated at the outset that the amount of information in regard to this city during the revolution is very meager. J. G. Holland many years ago said, "At this day it is impossible to find such an abundance of incidents connected with the Revolution in this region as will serve to impregnate life and interest the dry statistics to which the narrator is confined."

The town of Springfield at one time included what is now Springfield, West Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee, Westfield, Agawam, Longmeadow, East Longmeadow, Ludlow, Hampden, Southwick, Montgomery and Russell in Massachusetts, also parts of the towns of Somers, Suffield and Enfield in Connecticut. These were set off at different times until Springfield was left as it is today. Wilbraham was set off in 1763, West Springfield on February 23, 1774, and Ludlow on February 28, 1774. West Springfield carried with it the towns of Holyoke and Agawam. Longmeadow tried for several years to become a separate town, but always meeting the objection of Springfield, and did not finally succeed until October 13, 1783. The town of Springfield in 1776 contained about one hundred and seventy-five houses and but six streets. Main street was then about the same as it is today. Running westerly from Main street to the river were three narrow lanes: Ferry lane, or the Upper landing, which is now Cypress street, and Meeting House lane, or the Middle landing, which is now Elm street, and what was then called the Lower landing, but now York street. There was but one street running easterly from Main street, and that was then called the Causeway, now State street. Running off from State street was a street then called the Road to Charles Brewer's; this is now Maple street, the end of which was then at the foot of Central street hill.

The old Court House stood near the present entrance of Sanford street. In front of the Court House was a whipping post, and just outside the southwest corner was a large elm tree which was also

used as a whipping post. Just south of the Court House was the schoolhouse, and next south of this was the store of J. & J. Dwight, which stood at the present corner of Main and State streets. Near the present southeast corner of Court Square stood the old Parsons tavern; this was just back of the large elm which now stands at the southeast corner of Court Square, and there was just room between the elm and the front of the tavern for teams to pass.

Near the present southwest corner of Court Square stood the old church, and nearly in front of the church, across Meeting House lane, as it was then called, was a pair of bars. Jonathan Dwight lived nearly opposite his store on the west side of Main street. Near the present southwest corner of State street, just below Jonathan Dwight's residence, was the old Collins homestead, and next south stood the old Gaol tavern, and next below the tavern the residence of Moses Bliss. Next south on the same side was the residence of Josiah Dwight, and across Main street from his residence was his distillery. The Rev. Robert Breck, at that time pastor of the First Church, lived on the present site of Fallon's block, and William Pynchon, Jr., for many years treasurer of the town of Springfield, lived where the Haynes House now stands. Next south of William Pynchon, Jr., was the residence of Daniel Lombard, and adjoining him on the south was the residence of Deacon Daniel Harris. Col. John Worthington lived on the west side of Main street, between what are now Worthington and Bridge streets. The Hon. George Pynchon lived on the present site of Goodrich block.

Dr. Charles Pynchon lived at the corner of Main street and Ferry lane, now Cypress street. He had an apothecary shop in his building. Further north and near the present corner of Main and Sargeant streets was the tavern of Major Joseph Stebbins. At one time during the Revolution the cellar of Major Stebbins' house was filled with rum and molasses that had been taken by American privateers and brought far inland to avoid being recaptured by the English soldiers. Opposite the tavern of Major Stebbins and on the north corner of what is now Main and Carew streets stood the residence of Capt. Joseph Carew, and in the rear of his house stood his tannery.

It seems that the people of those times were up to tricks as well

as the people of today, for Major Stebbins and Captain Carew seem to have gotten their heads together and agreed upon a plan whereby they could make a dollar at the expense of their neighbors. Parties wishing leather would call upon Captain Carew, who notified them that no leather would be ready until the next day, at the same time suggesting to the would-be customer that he had better cross the way and stay over night at the tavern of his neighbor Stebbins. The next morning the leather would be ready and both Carew and Stebbins would have made a dollar.

All the tract between Main street and the foot of Armory Hill was then a swamp and went by the name of "Hasseky Marish." In order to go from Main street to what is now Maple street it was necessary to cross the Causeway on the Corduroy bridge. In wet weather the old Court House was sometimes nearly surrounded by water, and at certain times the people of Springfield could go in boats from State street to Carew street on the east side of what is now Main street.

The town of Springfield from the beginning of the war seems to have been strongly in favor of fighting until absolute independence was secured. The amount of money appropriated for that purpose seemed something enormous for those times and for so small a town, the population of Springfield in 1776 being about 1900.

At a town meeting held in the town on the 27th day of June, 1774, certain letters which had been received from the town of Boston were referred to a committee of nine persons, to take into consideration the last two articles mentioned in the warrant for the meeting, which articles read as follows:

"6. To desire the Clerk of said Town to communicate to the Town all the letters he has received from the Town of Boston, that they may advise and act thereon.

7. To pass any resolve respecting these letters, or any matter therein contained, and choose any committee for that purpose, and pass all proper votes thereon."

The records on the old town books read as follows:

"At a meeting of the free holders and others, inhabitants of the town of Springfield, July 12, Anno Domini, 1774, holden by adjournment from the 27th day of last June, the report of the committee appointed by the town at the last meeting to take into consideration the two last articles contained in the warrant for calling the meeting,

was at this meeting presented, read and considered, and unanimously voted and accepted, which report is as follows: namely: This town taking into serious and deliberate consideration the present dangerous situation of this province came into the following votes—namely:

1st: That by the Royal Charter of King William and Queen Mary; which we have possessed for near a century, and which has from time to time been recognized both by king and Parliament. We are intitled to and ought forever to enjoy all the liberties and immunities of any of his majesty's subjects within any of his dominions, some of the most essential of which are that they shall not be taxed, but with their own consent given in person or by their representatives nor disseized of their property, or condemned to any penalties; but by judgement of good and lawful men of the vicinage.

2nd: That the charter of the colonies ought to be held sacred and every infraction upon them, carefully avoided as tending to interrupt that harmony between the colonies and the parent state which is so essential to the happiness of both.

3rd: That though great deference and respect is due to the wisdom of the British Parliament, yet we can't consider ourselves as enjoying the liberties and immunities of natural free born subjects of the king, if we are liable to be taxed without representation or to be deprived of our property: or any way punished without the judgement of our peers—nor do we apprehend that we have so much as a virtual representation in a legislature which is not in itself subject to those laws which it imposes upon us.

4th: That the late Boston Port Act which inflicts a most severe punishment upon that town (and in its operation upon almost the whole continent), for destruction made of the property of some British merchants, by persons unknown; and that before any demand of compensation was made or any citations sent to the town to answer for itself, is a step that ought to alarm us and fill us with deep concern.

5th: That the proposed new system of government virtually annihilating our most essential charter rights, added to the Boston Port Act, gives us such apprehensions of the designs of administration against our liberties, as we have never before allowed ourselves to entertain.

6th: Impressed with just concern for our privileges, and at the same time governed by sentiments of loyalty to our sovereign, and with warm affection for our mother country, we ardently wish that all the colonies and every individual in them, may unite in some prudent peaceable constitutional measure for the redress of our grievances, the security of our liberties, and the restoration of union and mutual confidence between Great Britain and her colonies.

7th: That it is the unquestionable right, so we esteem it the indispensable duty of the several colonies in this day, to correspond together, and act in concert; and we wait with patience for the result of the approaching Continental Congress. Hoping that being influenced by wisdom from above they will recommend those measures

which shall be both inoffensive in their nature and salutary in their tendency, and as it appears to us that a discontinuance of trade and commerce with Great Britain might serve the interests of the country in divers respects; so should any well digested prudently regulated and practicable plan for this end, be proposed, we shall readily accede to it, and afford our aid for the relief of those who may thereby be deprived of ye means of subsistence, as well as contribute to the succor of our brethren already suffering in the country's cause.

8th: In the meantime we think it our duty to express our utter abhorrence of all such resolves and measures as are unnecessarily effrontive to the British Parliament and carry an air of insult upon that respectable body, as well as all insults and riots among ourselves. Insults upon men's persons and invasions of their properties, we are unanimously resolved to discountenance everything of this kind and to yield and promote due obedience to his majesty's government in this province. To treat his majesty's representative with all due respect. To aid inferior magistrates in the regular constitutional execution of the good laws we are under and to support as far as we are able their just influences in their respective offices and we hope those gentlemen unbiased by personal interest and gratefully remembering that the favors of the people first raised them to view and recommended them to the honors they sustain; and will readily unite with us in all reasonable and constitutional means of redress and though we will injure no man in his person or property for adversity of opinion, yet we shall not think ourselves bound to continue our favors to any gentleman, who lost to the sentiments of gratitude and humanity can coolly sacrifice his country's liberties to his own private emmolument.

The foregoing votes were passed in a full town meeting by a large majority July 12, 1774.

(Signed) Capt. SIMON COLTON, Moderator."

Our forefathers, denied the right of Parliament to change their laws in any particular, they also declared that all authority exercised by the courts as appointed by the King of Great Britain was unconstitutional. Parliament had taken from American courts the right to try any officer who had taken the life of an American. The Colonists were also denied the right to discuss public questions. The people were in particular exasperated with the courts, so much so, in fact, that on August 26, 1774, at the opening of a term of court in Springfield, 1,500 or 2,000 men marched into the town with drums and trumpets, and set up the black flag at the Court House, threatening death to anyone who should attempt to enter. After some negotiation, the Judges signed an agreement not to put their commissions in force, which satisfied the men and caused them to disperse.

The following from the old town records show that the people of Springfield, and the colony as well, were not averse to acting in a dual capacity:

"At a lawful town meeting held on Sept. 29, 1774 to elect and depute one or more persons to represent said town of Springfield and Wilbraham and the district of Ludlow to serve for and represent them in a great and general court and assemblage appointed to be convened, held and set for his majesty's service in the Court House at Salem, on Wednesday the 5th of October next ensuing. To elect and depute one or more persons to represent said town and to sit in a provincial congress to be held at Concord in the County of Middlesex on the second Tuesday of October ensuing.

Dr. Charles Pynchon of Springfield and Mr. John Bliss of Wilbraham were chosen representatives to represent said town and district at the aforesaid general court and Capt. George Pynchon and Mr. Jonathan Hale, Jr., were chosen delegates to said Provincial Congress. It was also voted that the instructions given to the representatives of the town of Boston be the instructions given to the said representatives chosen at this meeting, it was also voted that the said representatives join the Provincial Congress to be held at Concord in the County of Middlesex on the second Tuesday of October next."

September 20, 1774, the town appointed a committee to devise a plan of associate action, and suggested the calling of a county congress to which it elected three Provincial delegates. This congress was afterwards called.

January 3, 1775, the town voted to choose a committee of inspection to see that a strict watch be paid to the resolves of the Continental Congress, and that it consist of nine persons, and it was afterwards voted to add six persons more to that committee. Several other resolves were voted in this same month, and William Pynchon was chosen delegate to the Provincial Congress to meet in February.

On the day of the battle of Concord and Lexington the following notice was sent out by the Committee of Safety for the Province of Massachusetts Bay. This notice was delivered by a carrier. The copy left for the town of Springfield is now in the possession of the city clerk. The notice reads.

"Watertown, Wednesday Morning, 10 o'clock, To all the friends of American liberties be it known that this morning before break of day a brigade consisting of about 1000 or 1200 men landed at Phips' farm in Cambridge and marched to Lexington where they found a company of our colony militia in arms; upon them they fired without any provocation and killed six and wounded four others. By an express

this moment from Boston we find another brigade are now on their march from Boston purported to be about 1000, the bearer Mr. Isaac Bissell is charged to alarm the country quite to Conn. and all persons are desired to furnish him with such horses as they may be needed. I have spoke with several persons who have seen the dead and wounded. Pray let the delegates from this colony to see this.

(Signed) Z. PALMER.

One the C'm' of S,y, Col. Foster is one of the delegates."

Maj. Andrew Colton with about sixty minutemen accordingly responded to this alarm. Each man from the town of Springfield took with him about one-half pound of powder. On the next morning after this notice reached Springfield the minutemen were ready to start for Boston. One company from Suffield passed through Springfield, and also two companies from West Springfield, during the day of the 20th of April, 1775. In Springfield the streets were a perfect bedlam while the soldiers were making preparations and getting ready to leave.

November 14, 1775, a committee, appointed to take the matter of payment of minutemen into consideration, adjourned to November, 30th, when they voted to pay them £52. November 20th it was voted that the sum of £60 which was voted by the town sometime last spring or summer to procure firearms, be assessed on the polls and estates in said town ratable by law, in the next town tax. Also voted on the same date that there be a tax or assessment raised and levied on the polls and estates within said town ratable by law to be paid into the treasury of said town by the last day of March next the sum of £353.

On Friday, June 30, 1775, Washington came to Springfield from Hartford, on his way to assume command of the troops in Boston. A committee from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay met him here at the old Parsons tavern. This committee, consisting of Dr. Benjamin Church and Moses Gill, had provided escort for the remainder of the journey, which was through Brookfield, Worcester and Marlboro to Watertown.

One thing seems strange in regard to Springfield during this time, and that is the fact that no postoffice was established here. This was then a very busy town, with hundreds of soldiers here nearly

all of the time, drilling and leaving for the front, besides many officers, and men engaged in the manufacture of arms and ammunition, all of which necessitated considerable correspondence. It almost seems as if a postoffice would have been considered a necessity. For many years previous the colonies had a postal system, and as early as 1753 Franklin was appointed Postmaster General. In 1775 the Continental Congress took charge of the matter, and Franklin was again appointed Postmaster General. In this year there were about 100 postoffices in the country, but none in Springfield. A letter to the Postoffice Department, asking for a report for sometime during the Revolution, brings this answer: "Annual reports were not issued for many years later than the period of which you write, and the supply of these earlier copies is entirely exhausted."

A letter from the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General states: "The earliest records of the Bond Division only go back as far as 1789, and the earliest records found as to Springfield, Massachusetts, is the appointment of John W. Hooker, appointed first of April, 1794."

Green's History of Springfield, however, gives Moses Church as acting as postmaster during some of the 1780's, in a building near the present location of the Five Cents Savings Bank. By these letters it would seem that Moses Church was never duly appointed. It is quite likely that during this time someone did act as postmaster by general consent in the same manner as is done today by someone in a neighborhood which is a long distance from the regular post-office.

March 5, 1776, a committee of nine persons was chosen to act as a Committee of Safety. Five were to constitute a quorum.

May 23, 1776, three persons were chosen to represent said town in a great and general court or assembly to be convened, held and kept for the service of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, Wednesday, May 29, 1776.

October 3, 1776, it was voted

"That the representatives for said town be and hereby are directed in conjunction with the present House of Representatives of this state together with the council if they consent in one body and by equal voice consult, agree on and enact such a constitution and form of government for a state as the said House of Representatives

and Council as aforesaid on the fullest and most mature deliberation shall judge, will most conduce to the peace and happiness of said state and that said representatives cause the same to be made public for the inspection of the inhabitants before the ratification thereof by said assembly."

The following vote of Congress will show the inducements that were held out to secure men and officers for the Revolutionary Army:

"In Congress Oct. 8, 1776 resolved that for the further encouragement of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who shall engage in the services for the war: That a suit of clothes be given each of said officers and soldiers, to consist the present year of two linen hunting shirts; two pairs of overalls and a leather or woollen waistcoat with sleeves; one pair of breeches; a hat or leather cap; two shirts; two pair of hose; two pair of shoes amounting in all to the value of \$20.00 or that sum to be paid to each soldier who shall procure those articles for himself, and produce a certificate thereof from the captain of the company to which he belongs, to the paymaster of the regiment."

At a later date Congress offered a bounty of £20, which was to be paid at time of muster, and also the following amounts of land: Colonel, five hundred acres; Major, four hundred acres; Captain, three hundred acres; Lieutenant, two hundred, and an Ensign, one hundred and fifty acres, and one hundred acres to each non-commissioned officer and private. This offer was afterwards modified so as to apply to enlistments of three years or during the war, but the three-years men were not entitled to any land.

In compliance with above act of Congress the Massachusetts Assembly passed a resolve requiring each town in her jurisdiction to furnish every seventh man of sixteen years old and upwards, without any exception, save the people called Quakers.

December 24, 1776, a committee of seven persons was appointed to examine the town stock of ammunition and report thereon. January 8, 1777, the committee reported and it was then voted, "That there should be procured by a committee appointed for that purpose in addition to what is now in the hands of the selectmen 150 pounds of gunpowder and two thousands flints and four hundred pounds of lead and that the selectmen be a committee for said purpose."

January 8, 1777, a committee was appointed to prepare instructions for Representatives. January 16, 1777, the committee reported as follows:

"To Major Wm. Pynchon, Dea. Edward Chapin and Capt. Moses Field, representatives of the Town of Springfield, We, your constituents, reposing special trust and confidence in your wisdom, integrity and regard to the liberties of your country, have chosen you to represent us in General Court. Expect and believe that in all matters that may come before you, will act with impartiality for the general interest of this state but think proper to give you particular instructions in some matters.

In the first place we instruct and injoin you to use your influence that the House of Representatives be less in number as we imagine the present House to be too large to transact business and that the whole state be justly and equally represented.

In the next place we direct you that you use your influence (in case) the militia should be called for, upon any future emergency they may not be drafted as heretofore, believing such drafts have a tendency to establish military government and are dangerous to the liberty for which we are contending, but that the men may be encouraged by bounty to enter into the service. This town taking into their most serious consideration the present high price of merchandise and even the very necessities of life cannot believe that it is principally owing, but that the present circulating currency, paper currency is not sufficiently valued. And under great apprehension that it is a vast deal to plenty, believe that the money is not a proper encouragement to industry and are under fearful apprehension that the farmer will not be properly induced to raise grain and meat for the subsistence of the armies and inhabitants.

Earnestly recommend that the quantity be reduced and that every other possible method be taken to support its credit and as Civil Government is necessary not only to the well being but to the very being of society. We recommend to you the immediate establishment of it in all the country, that the Civil Magistrate be properly encouraged and protected in executing the good and wholesome laws of the land and that due care be taken that the military be kept in due subjection to the Civil Authority, without which our liberties will inevitably be annihilated."

June 9, 1779, two thousand men were ordered to be raised by draft, lot or voluntary enlistment, to serve nine months (unless sooner discharged) from the time they shall respectively appear at Springfield, or such other place as the commander-in-chief shall direct, the place of their rendezvous.

The following will show some of the expenses of the town of Springfield in those times:

"Mar. 14, 1775 the selectmen gave an order on the Treas. to Capt. George Pynchon for attending Provincial Court £1 4s. Same date to Abner Bliss for ringing 9 o'clock bell in Longmeadow £1.

Mar. 28, 1775 the selectmen gave an order on Edward Pynchon, Esq., Treas. for the town of Springfield to pay Dea. Edward Chapin for Sylvestus Woodbridge for keeping school at Chicopee, £4 16s.

May 19, 1775 the selectmen gave an order on Edward Pynchon, Treas. for town

of Springfield to pay Mr. Aaron Bliss £9 for keeping the school for four and one-half months at Longmeadow in the 5th district.

Feb. 22, 1776 the selectmen gave several orders on which was one to Edward Pynchon Esq., for himself for services as Treas., £4 and to show the difference in the value of money four years later; On Jan. 20, 1780 the selectmen gave an order on the Treas. for himself for services for past year £100.

Mar. 6, 1780 the selectmen gave an order on the Treas. to pay Elisha Colton for keeping school in the North District for twelve weeks at £15 per week, £180; On the same date they gave an order to Jonathan Hale for board for Elisha Colton twelve weeks at £12 per week.

Mar. 20, 1780 to Mr. John C. Williams for keeping the Grammar School three months, £585 12s.

Jan. 20, 1780 gave an order on the Treas. to pay Mr. Moses Church for paying for transport of salt from Boston to Springfield in 1777, £125; Same date an order to Thomas Williston for three days laying out a road, £15; and same date gave an order to the Treas. for himself for paying Eben Bliss for 29 pairs of shoes, £226 4s. and same date gave an order to the Treas. for himself for paying Abijo Dawes for 20 shirts, 13 pairs of stockings, £188 8s.

Mar. 6, 1780 they gave an order on the Treas. to Mr. Stoughton Bliss for six days work at the school in the First Parish in the South District £36 which was £6 per day."

Among the many votes of this period appears the following:

"Mar. 14, 1780: was voted that swine be permitted to go at large being yoked and ringed according to law."

The following two votes would indicate that counterfeiting was then in vogue as well as at this late day:

"Dec. 3, 1779 the selectmen granted to Thomas Hunt £13 for a bill that he received for rates which was counterfeited.

Jan. 20, 1780 the selectmen gave an order on the Treas. to Israel Chapin for a counterfeit \$4.00 bill which he received for rates £1 4s."

June 25, 1777, a delegation was appointed by the Legislature to meet others from the other New England States and New York at Springfield on the 10th of July. One of the objects of the meeting was to devise some method of stopping the depreciation and counterfeiting the paper money, and having it recalled by taxes or in some other manner.

At the time of the Revolution slavery was an established institution in Massachusetts, and it has been estimated that there were about forty slaves in Springfield in the year 1777. They seem to

have been treated more like hired servants than like slaves and, as has been stated, "Legislation did not create and legislation did not destroy it," and notwithstanding the assertions that have been made to the contrary, no act of the legislative body can be found abolishing slavery in Massachusetts.

It was quite common during those times to paint the houses a bright red, and sometimes a bright yellow. The ladies wore scarlet cloaks, and blue silk cloaks richly flowered; also furbelow scarfs, camel riding hoods, the calash, long silk hoods, and white hoods trimmed with lace. The poorer class wore hoods of a cheaper material and calico dresses; also woolen petticoats with calico borders. Nearly all of the ladies rode horseback. Visitors who came here during those times reported that it was quite common to see bright, healthy-faced young ladies racing along the road on horseback, wearing calico gowns and white aprons. The people seem to have had quite a taste for dress; some of them considerably so, judging from the two following verses of doggerel written at the time:

"Let her flaps fly behind for a yard at the least;
 Let her curls meet just under the chin;
 Let these curls be supported to keep up the jest,
 With an hundred instead of one pin.
 Let her gown be tucked up to her hip on each side,
 Shoes too high, or to walk, or to jump;
 And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride,
 Let the cork cutter make her a rump."

The following act of the Legislature indicates that it was considered necessary at this time to take some measures to prevent any person from giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the colonies:

"On Oct. 16, 1778 an act to prevent the return to this state of certain foreign enemies and others who have left this state or either of the U. S. and joined the enemies thereof."

If they returned they were to be committed to jail by some justice of the peace who was to notify the Board of War of this State. This board was authorized to transport the prisoner to some place within the dominion of Great Britain, if parties are able to pay their own expenses; if not, at the expense of the State. One such person was convicted at Springfield in 1778, of having endeavored to persuade

two men to enlist in the enemy's ranks and was sentenced to be set in the pillory at Springfield one hour, at Northampton one hour and to suffer two years' imprisonment and pay costs of prosecution.

July 26, 1781, the committee appointed to view the bass in Chicopee River reported that they are of the opinion that building a dam partly across said river would be no detriment to the public.

The following are an illustration of the enormous taxes the people had to pay during these times. It must also be remembered that this was a small town and nearly all the able-bodied men were in the army: September 20, 1777, the town of Springfield was called upon by the State for a tax of £271; and October 9, 1776, for a tax of £577, and also for £61 with which to pay the Representatives. August 5, 1777, the town was again called upon for a tax for £1633, in addition to which was a tax for £69 for pay of the Representatives. May 26, 1779, came another call for a tax of £16,835, and £201 for pay of the Representatives. November 10 of the same year a tax of the same amount (£16,835) was required of the town, and £85 for the pay of the Representatives. On March 9, 1780, they were called upon for a tax of £33,670, besides £352 for pay of Representatives, and in September of the same year for the same amount as that of the previous March (£33,670). In one year besides the pay of the Representatives and the large amounts which were paid in bounty and for furnishing beef, there were many other supplies for the use of the army—all this, in addition to paying the usual running expenses of the town.

It seems that our forefathers were not adverse to using the lottery for the purpose of raising money for public purposes, as they provided that the lottery should be protected by law. The following vote of the House of Representatives was passed May 27, 1778:

"Penalty for forging lottery tickets issued for the benefit of Continental soldiers shall be punished by being set on the gallows for the space of one hour with a rope around his neck and shall pay a fine not exceeding £1000 at the discretion of the court before whom the conviction may be to the use of this state; and suffer not more than twelve months imprisonment nor less than three; and be publicly whipped not exceeding 39 stripes or shall suffer only part of the above punishment, at the discretion of the court before whom the conviction shall be, according to the circumstances of the offence and shall pay to the person or persons defrauded treble damages."

March 14, 1780, the town of Springfield voted as follows:

"That John Worthington, Esq., Moses Bliss, Esq., and Mr. Jonathan Dwight be a committee to prefer a petition to the General Court of leave for a lottery to raise such a sum of money as shall be necessary to build a bridge over Chicopee River."

An act of the Legislature passed June 24, 1779, shows that the people did not intend any person should speculate in the prices of provisions at the expense of anyone else, as at this time it was enacted that if any person should have on hand more flour, corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley or meal than sufficient to last the family until the next harvest and should refuse to sell same for the common currency of the State, any person in need of such article might complain to the selectmen who could demand sufficient for immediate use of person and offer reasonable amount for same, which if refused they might apply to a justice of the peace for a warrant to open any house or store where grain was put, find and take possession of same, paying the owner a reasonable amount for same.

The following act of the Legislature shows that the intention was that the people should accept the money of their government, whether they considered it good or not:

"Any person convicted of hurting the credit of the public bills of this state or the U. S. by refusing to take them for any article of merchandise or for rent of house or land shall pay a fine of not more than £500 nor less than £50, part to go to the town where offense was committed and the balance to the informer."

"In 1780 Continental money was so depreciated in value that it took \$40.00 to purchase \$1.00 in specie. The pay for a soldier for a month would barely buy him a meal; worse still, the British had flooded the country with counterfeits which even an expert could not tell from the genuine."

In January, 1777, \$100 in gold was equal to \$105 in the bills of credit of the United States; January, 1778, it was equal to \$325; January, 1779, to \$742; January, 1780, to \$2,934, and in April, 1780, \$100 in gold was equal to \$4,000 in bills of credit of the United States. During the years 1775-1780 the Colonial government issued bills of credit to the amount of over \$241,000,000, in denominations of from one-ninth of a dollar to \$80.

The penalty imposed upon any town at that time, if by any chance

whatever it neglected to send the full quota of men as required by the State at different times, is indicated in a petition of the selectmen of Springfield, dated April 10, 1780, which represented that for aught they knew to the contrary until the town was fined £1,800, in the tax bill, all the men required of their town by the resolve of June 9, 1779, had been raised, but upon subsequent inquiry it appeared that one of the militia captains in that town, whose proportion to the town's quota would have been two men, had not received the orders to raise more men, and that another man of the town's quota was detached from another company in the town to serve as required by the said resolve, but had been permitted by his excellency, General Washington, to remain in the capacity of clerk with Gen. Measam, clothier general, then stationed in Springfield. The petitioners therefore prayed that the amount of the said fine or such a part thereof as the General Court should think in justice they ought to receive, be refunded. With this petition was filed the following extract from a letter by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army:

"Headquarters, West Point, July 31, 1779.

Sir: With respect to Mr. Harry Pynchon, I have no objection of his remaining with you as an assistant as you must have someone and they are somewhat difficult to procure, it will not oblige the state to furnish a man more, I do not mean however that this should impugn or counteract in the smallest degree any law of the state that may effect Mr. Pynchon or subject him to any fine or penalty for any previous conduct or non-compliance with the law and my permission for his staying is to be considered under those restrictions.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

For Mr. Measam."

Thereupon the following resolve was passed:

"State of Mass. Bay in the House of Representatives, May 5, 1780,—On the petition of the selectmen of the town of Springfield praying for the abatement of a fine of £1800 set upon said town in the last tax for a delinquency of three men required of it by a resolve of the General Court passed June 9, 1779, and it having been made to appear; that the said town was deficient but two men only of the whole number required thereof: Therefore resolved that the prayer of the petitioner be so far granted as that there be allowed and paid out of the public treasury of this state to the town of Springfield the sum of £600 being a fine set upon said town for a man which was raised and did actually serve the term for which he was so raised."

The old records of the town for this period would indicate that the citizens spent considerable of their time in town meeting, for during the years 1775-1780, there were sixty-four such meetings held.

After the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga, the Hessian contingent of his army, which was captured by the Americans, were marched from there to Boston. They spent one day on the common at West Springfield. Their commander was General Reidesel. The prisoners arrived at West Springfield on the 29th of October. By entreaties and various representations General Reidesel succeeded in obtaining quarters for his weary and half-frozen soldiers. On this day they advanced only four miles. A day of rest was here given to the soldiers. On the 31st the General came across the Connecticut to Springfield to make arrangements with the authorities of this place for a supply of provisions. In the meantime the troops remained in West Springfield and rested, which was very acceptable to them, as it gave them a chance to repair their torn clothing, shoes, etc. General Reidesel did not find the people of East Springfield as obliging as those of West Springfield. Notwithstanding all his entreaties he failed to induce them to quarter his troops, and they were accordingly obliged to continue their march as far as Palmer, a distance of thirteen miles. This statement is taken from the letter of General Reidesel himself.

The following paragraph was taken from a letter of Baroness Reidesel, wife of General Reidesel, who accompanied him most of the way on his journey from Saratoga to Boston:

"Negroes are to be found on most of the farms west of Springfield. The black farmer lives in a little outhouse. The negroes here are very prolific, like the rest of the cattle. The young ones are well fed, especially while they are still calves. Moreover the slavery is very bearable. The negro is to be looked on as the servant of a peasant; the negress does all the coarse house work and the black children wait on the white children. The negro can take the field in place of his master and so you do not see a regiment in which there is not a large number of blacks, and there are well-grown strong and sturdy fellows among them. There are also many families of free blacks who occupy good houses and have means and live entirely in the style of the other inhabitants. It looks funny enough when Miss Negress pulls up her woolly hair over a cushion, puts a little shade hat on her head, wraps herself in her mantle and shuffles along the road in this finery, with a slave negress waddling behind her."

That slavery was a regular institution at this time an advertisement in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of April 11, 1774, of a negro boy twelve years old for sale, is a sample.

Not all the people of Springfield at this time were in favor of the Revolution, as history shows there were many Tories among them. Even Col. John Worthington himself, of whom it was said previous to the Revolution that "He rules the town with a rod of iron," for four or five of the first years of the Revolution his name practically disappears from the records of the doings of the town. The story has been told that the Whigs were so angered by his refusal to join them, that they took him into the street and formed a ring and compelled him to kneel and swear before God that he would denounce his Tory views. This may or may not be true.

Jonathan Bliss, brother of Luke Bliss, married the daughter of Col. John Worthington, went to New Brunswick, became Attorney General of the Province and also Chief Justice.

The headstones in some of the old church yards in St. John, New Brunswick, bear the names of many well-known Springfield citizens of this time, showing that rather than renounce their Tory views, they would leave the State for good and for all.

February 14, 1777, Washington wrote to the President of Congress from Morristown as follows:

"General Knox, by a letter of the first instant, informs me, on mature inquiry and examination, he finds Springfield to be more convenient and much better calculated for a Laboratory and Cannon Foundry, than any other part of the New England States. He adds, that a quantity of copper, tin, and other useful materials can be had there; and that the necessary works and preparations, from these and other advantages, can be accomplished at least three or four months sooner there than anywhere else. In consequence of his opinion, which I esteem of weight, particularly in this instance, and knowing the importance of these establishments and how essential they are, I have ventured to order the works to be begun there, without regard to what had been done in Brookfield, which was of but little consequence. The former besides the many advantages mentioned by General Knox, stands on Connecticut River, and has a good navigation; yet is entirely secure against any attempts of the enemy, being twenty miles above Hartford, where the River is narrow, and too shoal to admit vessels that can give the least annoyance."

A letter was written by General Knox to the Council at Boston, dated Morristown, April 6, 1777, and addressed to Hon. James

Bowdoin of the Council, stating that when in Boston he found the Council had an order from Congress ordering certain work for the laboratory at Springfield; also stating Washington thought Springfield was not a proper place and sent him to Hartford to establish works there. He states:

"I thought Springfield a better place and ordered workmen to begin work there, and Congress approved the plan. I gave the following reasons to Congress for making a change:

Springfield is a place more proper than Brookfield with respect to its being situated on the Connecticut River, the great saving of transportation by water to or from any part of the sound, Newport, New York or indeed to any part of the continent by shifting into different bottoms, Springfield is preferable to Brookfield in point of geography with respect to Hudson River and the northern department.

Springfield has the advantage of Brookfield in the number of streams which empty themselves in the Connecticut River and on which are a number of saw mills. Timber is much more easily gotten at Springfield than at Brookfield by the facility with which it is transported by means of the river and much change saved thereby.

Shops, houses and stores though not very convenient are already gotten and the workmen at work in the various branches which could not be provided at Brookfield without building them which would inevitably have retarded the preparation of stores, wagons, carriages, etc. for some months. Provisions and subsistence is much more cheaply provided at Springfield than Brookfield as the country is more plentiful and when the buildings, magazine, etc. shall be erected in a complete manner, just the place. Above Springfield is perhaps one of the most proper spots in America on every account."

General Knox sent a letter from Morristown, May 10, 1777, to the Council at Boston, accompanied by the resolve of Congress, making the change from Brookfield, stating the high ground east of Springfield, as on the plan, appeared to him to be an exceedingly proper spot for erecting the buildings in a complete and elegant manner. He said, "You will please to observe that Congress has determined upon a magazine to hold 4000 barrels of powder, this in my opinion is too much to be risked in any one building, it would be much better to have two or even four to hold 1000 each."

In the summer of 1777, Colonel Dawes was sent to Springfield to carry out the resolve of Congress in regard to building the magazine, etc.

August 15, 1777, Col. Thomas Dawes wrote to the Council of Massachusetts Bay Colony saying he had been to Springfield as

ordered by them and found the land wanted belonged to the town and the selectmen had called a meeting; he further stated that nothing could be done that fall, as so many men were in the army; lumber, grain and the demand for board now great for workmen as well; also saying that the contracts should be let that fall so as to be ready early in the spring.

The following item from the old books of the town treasurer shows some of the buyers of tickets in the Chicopee Bridge Lottery:

"Sold one ticket No. 1000 to Mr. John Witter, of Chicopee Bridge Lottery.

Sold one ticket No. 641 to Asa Day.

Sold Caleb Strong six tickets, received no pay for, am to receive it out of the county rate.

Sold one ticket to John Ashley No. 402.

Sold to the Grand Jury, Oct. term fifteen tickets which I received no pay for, am to receive it out of the county rates.

Sold two tickets to Capt. Williams and Capt. Clark which I received the money for.

Sold to Henry Dwight and Eli Broger, Grand Jury, Nov. Term three tickets."

The old jail in the town of Springfield, which has been previously mentioned, stood near the present location of Chandler's hotel. The house stood at the corner and extended a few feet into Bliss street. The jail proper stood at the rear of the house and was connected with it. The lot was eight rods wide on Main street and extended ten or twelve rods back. The jail itself was eighteen by twenty-five feet in size, two stories high. It had one large room with closets on the first floor and three rooms on the second floor. The walls and partitions were built of thick white-oak plank. This continued in use from 1680 until 1794, when the courts were removed to Northampton. Previous to this time and since 1662 the courts had been held alternately at Springfield and Northampton.

Up to the time of the Revolution the records show but one hanging in the old town of Springfield; this was in 1770, at which time a man by the name of Shaw was hanged on top of what is now Armory Hill. A large number of people came in from the surrounding towns and country, and the gallows was built so high that the man who was hanged could be easily seen from Main street.

From an original letter now on file at the State House at Boston, we learn that powder mills would blow up one hundred and twenty-five years ago as easily as they will today. A petition, dated May

26, 1777, and signed by Jonathan Hale and David Burt, asked the Council for aid in rebuilding their powder mill which was blown up. On June 18, 1777, they were voted £60 to aid in rebuilding the same, with the understanding that it was to be finished by December 12th, next.

Another petition, signed by Jonathan Hale and dated October 1, 1777, requested the Council and House of Representatives for one-half ton of sulphur which was then in the hands of Major Crane; he also stated at the same time he was to pay the price set upon same by the Council. He also requested that a guard be sent to Springfield to protect his powder. October 14th, of the same year, the Board of War was ordered to deliver the sulphur to said Jonathan Hale.

From a letter of General Heath, dated July 3, 1777, which letter is now on file at the State House at Boston, it is evident that the people of Springfield at this time were considerably worried over the reports that had reached them, to the effect that the British were to march on the town. General Heath's letter to the Council stated that Washington had recommended a sufficient number of wagons be placed under his command in case the vicissitudes of war made necessary the removal of stores from Springfield. General Heath requested the Council to recommend the selectmen, or some person within the vicinity of Springfield, to engage as many wagons as they thought necessary to remove stores; and also recommend that a list of teamsters be taken to be called if any movement of the enemy made same necessary.

A letter by S. G. Jarvis, agent of the Continental Board of Ordnance, shows that considerable red tape was then necessary in order to secure the articles needed in the manufacture of small arms and ammunition. This letter states that Col. David Mason, director of the Board of Works at Springfield, wanted several articles which could be procured only from the committee of Sequestration. He requested the Council to order the committee to deliver over certain articles which were mentioned. The Council and House of Representatives ordered the committee to deliver same.

There is a letter on file from General Heath, dated June 23, 1777, which indicates that considerable of a guard was thought necessary

to protect the magazines in this town. The General asked the Council for a guard for Springfield and Brookfield magazines, to consist of one captain, four subalterns, four sergeants, eight corporals, and one fife, and one hundred and twenty privates, to be drafted from remote places, for obvious reasons, for the purpose of releasing the Continental soldiers then stationed at those places. This request was granted.

Someone has said that one thing illustrates the lives of the people at this time and that was the laws: "Many of our laws are copies of the laws of our ancestors, but the penalty is different. Where we impose a fine they used the lash, but they never exceeded the Hebrew limit of forty stripes, and for that reason considered they had the divine sanction. The punishment was meted out regardless of sex or social position. The sentence was executed by the constable and at the public whipping posts in front of the Court House in the town of Springfield."

At this time it would not be considered proper to tax land in any town except where the land was situated. At the time the town of West Springfield was set off in 1774, it was considered different. At that time it was provided in the act that separated the two towns that all lands owned in Springfield and situated in West Springfield should be taxed in Springfield. As a matter of fact a large amount of West Springfield land was then owned by residents of Springfield, and had been since the original settlement. When the owners sold to parties in West Springfield, the lands were then to be taxed there. This continued until 1866, when the act of 1774 was repealed.

On August 31, 1778, the selectmen of Springfield and West Springfield complained to the Council and House of Representatives that the Continental officers stationed here had under their employ thirty-two men, one captain and one lieutenant who were engaged in building boats, many of which were for themselves, and that this was being done at the expense of the Government. The petitioners claimed that the whole expense would amount to £1,000; besides this it would interfere with the business of the regular ferryman, who was himself duly licensed. Considerable testimony was taken upon this complaint and many witnesses were examined.

Considerable correspondence now on file would indicate that the people of Springfield and West Springfield, during the Revolution, had as great suspicions in regard to the honesty of some public officials as have people of a later day in regard to their officials. On September 30, 1778, the selectmen of Springfield and West Springfield petitioned the Council and House of Representatives for an investigation of officials who were stationed in these towns.

As we follow down the history of these seven years we can hardly understand how the people of the small town of Springfield could have stood under the burdens they were compelled to bear.

The following items of expense indicate some of the expenditures they were compelled to meet, and it must be remembered these were all in addition to the large State tax previously mentioned and also in addition to the town's running expenses:

January 17, 1776, the town was called upon for twelve blankets; and in June, 1776, for forty-four men, each one of these to receive a bounty of £7. In 1778, £780 were voted as a bounty for thirteen men. March 4, 1778, the town paid twelve men their bounty and mileage, they being Continental soldiers, £62 10s. each, amounting to £750. They also paid seven men their mileage, they being militia men, £21. They paid six men their mileage, £16 each, amounting to £96. They also paid Samuel Chapin for clothing £8 2s.; Thomas Williston for clothing £19 4s., and Colonel Stebbins for clothing £93 14s. On April 13, 1779, they paid three or four different persons bounty and mileage to Providence, amounting to £38 each.

On December 3, 1779, the town voted that the sum £1,759 be raised in order to procure clothing for the soldiers and necessities for their families. On September 25, 1780, the town was called upon for a certain amount of beef, according to schedule which was annexed, and on October 16th following it was voted that the sum of £18,000 be levied and assessed upon the polls and estates of the inhabitants of the town, ratable by law, for the purpose of supplying its proportion of the required beef. On December 4, 1780, a resolve of the General Court called for more beef, and on February 5, 1781, the town voted to raise the sum of £37,374 to procure the beef.

On December 7, 1780, the State was asked to furnish 4,240 men

to serve three years, or during the war. Accordingly on January 15, 1781, the town of Springfield voted to hire its proportion of men, and that the sum of \$2,400 of hard money, or an equivalent in paper, be raised, in order to hire these men. The value of this \$2,400 in hard money was equal to \$96,000 in the Continental money of the time.

Votes of the town at this time show that while the expenses were continually growing larger, the receipts had a tendency to grow smaller. On March 26, 1781, the town voted to remit the tax assessed in the last assessment made in the town upon the polls of all such as have or may engage to serve in the army of the United States for term of three years, or during the war.

June 22, 1781, the General Court again called for a large amount of beef, blankets, shoes, stockings, etc., according to schedule which was annexed. On July 26, 1781, the necessary money was voted.

Besides finding time to raise such a vast sum of money, the people of Springfield had still some spare time in which to think over the Constitution for their State. On May 5, 1780, a committee was appointed to take into consideration a constitution or proposed form of government. On the 29th of the same month, the committee reported and it was voted that the bill of rights be unanimously accepted, and that the town accept the report of the committee on the constitution, with the objection therein contained, by a majority of 178 against 2. The records state that a copy of that report, showing the objection, was on file, but the same has not been found.

The following entry on the books of the selectmen shows some of the matters to which they had to attend in those times:

"Bought of Mr. Luke Bliss four barrels of pork for which agreed to give him £3 per barrel, and two barrels of Mr. Jonathan Dwight for which they gave the same sum; also one barrel of vinegar which we allowed 19 pence upon condition if not are to give 15 pence. also had of Samuel Hitchcock one bushel of beans at four pence per quart, and three pecks of Dea. Brewer at four pence a quart; one bushel of Timothy Bliss at four pence a quart, also two bushels wanting half a peck of peas at four pence a quart of Mr. Dwight, the whole of which we have sent to the Com. of Supply at Water-town by Mr. Josiah Ashley.

Pursuant to a desire from the Provincial Congress the selectmen have sent two quarter casks of powder to the Com. of Supply."

The first library the town had was started in 1775, through the exertions of Rev. Dr. Lathrop, and it was carried from house to house in a two-bushel basket. It is not known just how many volumes the library contained, but at least 56.

Col. Thomas Stebbins owned and operated a pottery opposite his house on Main street. He manufactured common red earthen ware, procuring the clay from Long Hill.

In regard to the laboratory for the manufacture of cartridges, it seems that during the first week in April, 1778, about 40 men were engaged in the business. During that first week in April, 7,584 cartridges were made; the third week, 11,077; the fourth week, 15,700; showing a continual increase in the output.

At the beginning of the war this town was a recruiting post for soldiers getting ready to go to the front. It was afterwards used also as a depot for military stores. Later still it was used for the manufacture of cartridges and small arms. The town was considered an unusually good place for all of these purposes on account of its being located so far inland.

After reading the history of the old town of Springfield, and the history of Springfield during the Revolution was in many respects the history of nearly all other towns, how can we fail to give to our ancestors the greatest credit it is possible for us to give. How can it fail to spur us on to patriotic deeds, and make us determined to transmit a free and united country to our descendants, and as free from blemish as it was transmitted to us.

The following is a partial list of papers, books and engravings exhibited by the Society at different times. Part are owned by the Society, the balance have been loaned by individuals:

ORIGINAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE FIRST FIRE DEPARTMENT OF SPRINGFIELD.

ACCOUNT BOOKS OF JOHN PYNCHON.

AN ORIGINAL LIST OF MEN RAISED FOR THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF REGRET SENT BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO THE WOMEN OF SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, IN CHARGE OF SOLDIERS' FAIR.

ENGRAVING—"THE BLOODY MASSACRE PERPETRATED IN KING STREET, BOSTON, ON MARCH 5, 1770," BY PAUL REVERE.

THE BELT AND SCALPING KNIFE OF "GERONIMO," THE FAMOUS "MEDICINE MAN" OF THE APACHES.

F847.2

